## PASSAGE THROUGH INDIAN CIVILIZATION

N. K. Bose's thoughts and work

Editors R. K. Bhattacharya Jayanta Sarkar Digitized by the Internet Archive in 2018 with funding from Public.Resource.Org

## Passage through Indian Civilization: N.K. Bose's thoughts and work

#### **Editors**

R. K. Bhattacharya Jayanta Sarkar



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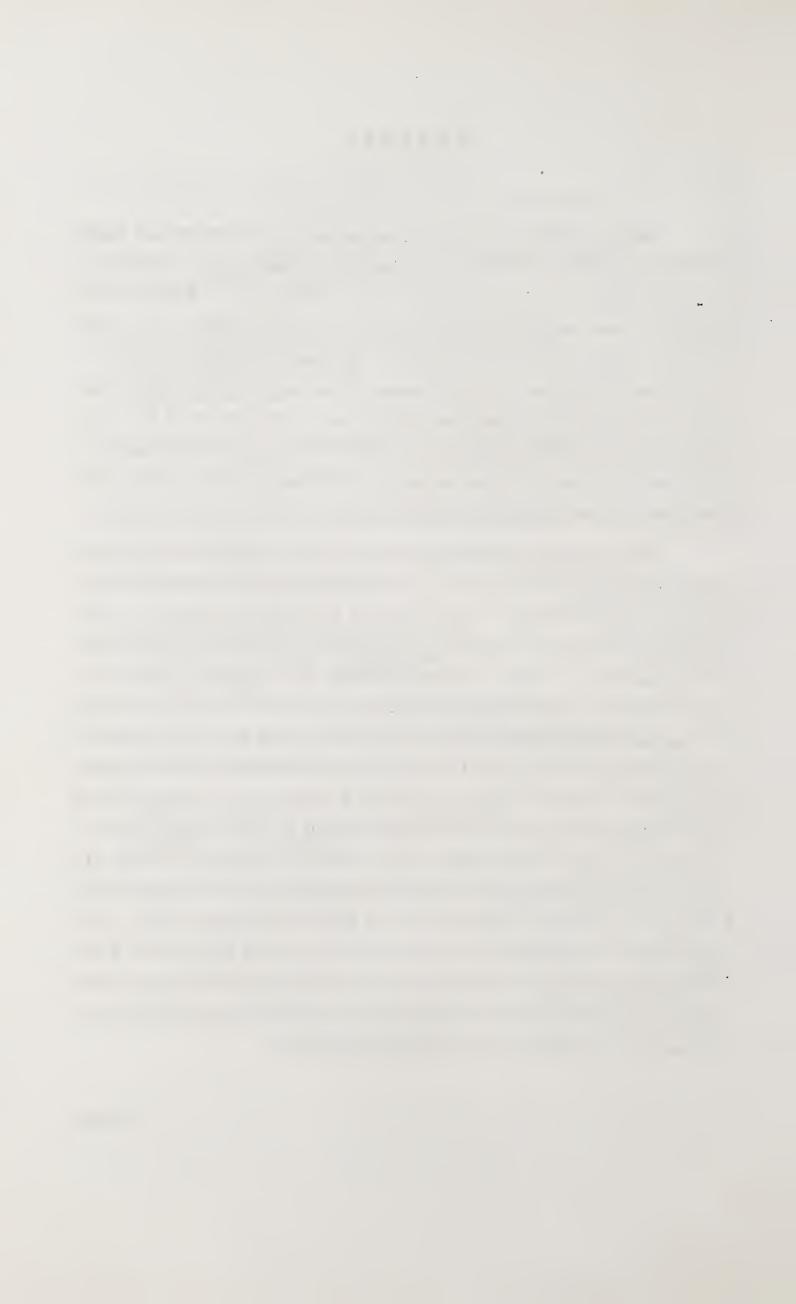
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#### Preface

Indian civilization has remained an important area of study for the scholars of diverse disciplines. Indologists, historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and scholars of many other disciplines have been unveiling the nuances of the Indian civilization through application of the special methods of their respective disciplines. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose's attempt to understand Indian civilization through an empirical examination of the very rich and composite bio-cultural heritage of diverse ethnic groups of India, as components of this ancient civilization, is in fact a departure from the methods generally applied in the context of such study.

The present book brings into relief a composite approach cutting across the boundaries of many disciplines. Nirmal Kumar Bose, an extraordinary exponent of Gandhian thought, a rare example of versatile scholarship and a great nationalist studied India at the material culture, organizational and abstract levels and endeavoured to demonstrate linkages, roles and interaction among the various components of the civilization. In an era of too much of specialization in every field of life, the present book which contains discussion on many facets of Nirmal Kumar Bose's thoughts and work highlighting the multi-dimensional holistic approach, reemphasizes the importance of a critical Indian outlook for understanding diverse bio-cultural components as the characteristic features of Indian civilization and their underlying unity. The contributors of papers had opportunities to work either with Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose or observe his academic activities from a close distance and therefore the views expressed by the contributors have interwoven with those of Nirmal Kumar Bose.



#### **CONTRIBUTORS**

Ajit Kumar Danda, Former Prof. of Anthropology, North Bengal University, Shiliguri, West Bengal.

Baidyanath Saraswati, UNESCO Professor, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi.

Bhowani Prosad Chatterjee; Secretary, Gandhi Memorial committee, Kolkata, West Bengal.

Bimalendu Bhattacharya, Former Vice Chancellor, North Bengal University, Shiliguri, West Bengal.

Gautam Kumar Bera, Research Associate, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Jayanta Sarkar,
Deputy Director,
Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Jyotirmoy Chakraborty, Research Associate, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Mira Roy, Chief Executive of the Man in India and Daughter of Late S.C. Roy, Man in India. P.K. Misra, Former Prof. of Anthropology of the North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong, Meghalaya.

P. Dash Sharma, Former Prof. of Anthropology, Ranchi University, Jharkhand.

Pranabranjan Ray, Eminent Arteritic, Kolkata, West Bengal.

R.K. Bhattacharya,
Director,
Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Sailesh Kumar Bandyopadhyay, Secretary, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, New Delhi.

S.B. Chakrabarti,
Deputy Director,
Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

S.P. Lala, Anthropologist, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

S.R. Das, Anthropologist, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Shyamal Kumar Ray, Former Librarian Grade I, Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

Tundra Basu,
Research Associate,
Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata.

## 1 A few words about Professor N.K. Bose and his work

## R.K. Bhattacharya

It is a great honour for me to welcome you all to this seminar on the occasion of the centenary of Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. I am grateful to you for having responded to our invitation. I specially take this opportunity to thank all those who agreed to present their papers in this seminar. They have been kind enough to send their papers. We have participants from distant parts of our country who have gathered here to share with us their experiences with respect to Nirmal Bose and his work.

I have very little personal experience of encounters with Professor Nirmal Bose, in fact not more than a couple of times. Professor Bose, as some of our teachers, always came with a reputation, a reputation that would naturally scare young scholars such as I was then. Myths tend to get built around teachers and one such myth was that Professor Bose believed himself to be the last work, supported to some extent by his disregard for referencing his articles. There are other stories that did the rounds - his oft-repeated illustrations when discussing change in society and in another vein, his attachment to his things. Many may recollect his story of the Brahmin shop assistant at the Bata store, many may not know the one that I am going to repeat. He had given one of his old overcoats to a young student who was going to USA for higher studies. When somebody there wanted to buy the coat as antique at quite a price, the student wrote and asked for permission only to be instructed to bring it back! However, in hindsight I have come to realize that I had foolishly allowed the stories to colour the person.

Reading Professor Bose reveals his intensely original line of thinking, depth of understanding and subtleties of perception. There are indeed very few scholars who can sustain their intellection on their own steam. His work brings to mind the wonderful writings of Edward Sapir. Take for instance, Hindu Samajer Gadan (The structure of Hindu Society) that has a gourchandrika taken from Chaitanya Charitamrita as its introduction. Today when there is a strong urge for alternative paradigms in defining Indian anthropology, his use of Indian idioms in representing Indian society is indeed path breaking. The book does not seem to bother about borrowing feathers from the standard treatises of its time, it makes a strong and valid case for itself and never fails to inspire discerning readers. The book looks at the Hindu social structure apparently from the point of the evolutionary school of thought but as we look deeper, we discover that his ideas predate Levi-Strauss's conscious-unconscious model for the understanding of social structure. It strengthens the Brownian concept of social structure by adding the significant ingredient of the interrelationship between the ideal or conscious and practised or unconscious to interpersonal interactions within social institutions.

Let me clarify my contention. In his discussion in the chapter, "Aryan Social Structure in India" there is a clear indication that he is highlighting the ideal or conscious model that underscores social values and norms that are paractised. In preceding and subsequent chapters there is an attempt at understanding social structures against the backdrop of history, i.e., change. When we view the book from the perspectives of evolution and ideal-practised dialectic, we are struck at the breadth of his vision of social anthropology that transcends elementary ethnography through analysis of structure. Where

he has done ethnography, he has taken care to place the community in the light of its history, highlighting the trends of change with time.

His *Paribrajaker Diary* is a very interesting collection of articles. Largely autobiographical experiences with individual, these pen sketches are akin to the artist's sketches that they make for recording their observations for use later. One of the tools of anthropology is to collect biographics of people in order to understand their culture and society. This is amply reflected in this volume. Writing science is often perceived as dry and pedantic but it is from this that Bose sometimes took a holiday. There is strong and robust emotion, romanticism and sometimes even mysticism that tinge his writings other than anthropological treatises. Some of the observations that he seems to be making iin passing reveal his insight. As an example I could cite his reference to characteristic features of the quality of mind of the tribes in contrast with the others.

In all his writings we notice the attention that he accorded to change in various aspects and that is the reason why I choose to place him in the evolutionary school of thought. There is another reason that convinces me that he belonged to the evolutionary school and that is the contrast that he made between the simplicity of rural society and life and complexity of urban structures and organizations.

When we look at the kind of work that he initiated at the Survey, we find innovation and originality in thinking. He was the first to launch all-India projects – material culture trait survey and anthropometric survey. He had the vision to plan and execute such big projects with very limited manpower. Apart from these, urban studies and studies on carrying capacity of land were taken up during his tenure. The other important contribution was the introduction of fellowship in the Survey. His erudition and multi-faceted life experiences attracted scholars across disciplines and many of who were eager to be associated with his ideas and work. He inducted senior scholars in supervisory roles for the all-India projects. He maintained regular contact with universities in the search for young, intelligent and earnest scholars. He also believed in training of young scholars through independence in thinking. Young scholars were made aware of the objectives of the project in details and then sent out for data collection and fieldwork; they were not burdened with pre-set questionnaires and schedules.

Looking through his official correspondence reveals the spirit with which he approached the authorities. He expressed himself plainly regarding the needs of the organizations and importance of the work. There is not a note of submissiveness in his approach — a marked departure from today when the ministry with the purse strings holds the whip hand! It is remarkable that the ministry in charge of the Survey complied with his demands quite readily, from this we can guage the respect and esteem that Professor Bose was held in. It was under his persuasion that the publications of the Survey were freed of the shackles of government presses that used to cause enormous delay in publication. The Survey was able and is still able to approach other publication houses for publishing their findings. These are legacies that we have inherited and these have enriched the Survey greatly.

I am painfully aware that I have not been able to do justice to Professor Nirmal Bose with these very few observations; may be I have been able to provide a glimpse into the wide range of his capacities. I am also aware that such celebrations have the possibility of becoming ritualistic – however, rituals apart there is a purpose in our endeavor. I have had the opportunity to go through some of the presentations and I must admit that the many aspects of Professor Bose that have been explored is quite astounding and energizing. His work is inspiring and gives us the confidence that the Anthropological Survey of India is moving in the right direction. It is also important that the young scholars feel the importance of the continuity of knowledge, of tradition being recast in response to modern trends and importance evaluating heritage.

## Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose : My Teacher

## Bimalendu Bhattacharya

I feel very much grateful and humble at the same time to the Anthropological Survey of India, for according me an opportunity to inaugurate this national seminar commemorating the birth centenary of Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. An emotive occasion like this, particularly because I had been one of his direct students, listening to his classroom lectures delivered in his inimitable style over a period of four running years, adds further to the great emptiness created by his absence.

What was Nirmal Kumar Bose? As a geographer, I see him as a fellow geographer, an expert illustrationist with deft artist's hands. You in the Anthropological Survey of India would claim him as an anthropologist. For Gandhi, he was a follower, a soul-mate and his biographer. His interest in Indian architecture, particularly temple architecture, makes him an architect. His ideas and advice on urban development and its social aspects make him a town planner. He was a visionary and a doer — not just a dreamer.

Nirmal Kumar Bose has really been one of those distinct personalities of the past century in India, whose contribution to the understanding of a multi-faceted Indian society, is immeasurable. With passing time we realize with greater awareness how his mind swung from area to area of diverse character, desirous of revealing the truth in its proper perspective. Nirmal Bose lived when India was witnessing political turmoil. He was always sensitive to the political developments in India but he was never embroiled in them,

leaving himself free to pursue his scholarly pursuits. He was not attracted to political power and this unveils the highly scholastic mind of this great academic, absorbed in finding a path into the mystery of human life in evolution.

Personally, I refrain from going into the depths of his work. I lack that ability while experts present here may do it with greater efficiency. Instead, I would rather talk a little about things I know of having been in touch with him during my student days and later in those days when, perhaps, I came closer to him when I was a teacher myself. Looking at Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose and his work from all angles, what appears to me today, is that he was out and out a teacher, one of the greatest I have ever encountered in my life, spanning almost seventy years, in India or abroad, barring one, or may be two exceptions in my own experience. In my estimation he had the rarest quality of bringing things alive to students he was speaking to. As a speaker too he had this unequal and precious distinction. His calming effect, his maturity and invaluable advice as teacher and father figure - warning me when I was an angry young man, protesting against authoritarian wrongs was something one felt when one came under his influence. He knew the danger of politics ruining academic prospects. When I retorted against his advice of caution and said no one could take away my first class, he warned me that – that was true but they could deprive me of my deserved position – and he was right. His advice for practicing restraint and curbing one's however justified anger, still rings in my ears. Much later, when I had the unforgettable opportunity of having him as my personal guest on a number of occasions, I could fathom better the strength and subtlety of this vigorous mind and unending generosity in taking time off his extremely busy schedule to solve our academic confusions.

I remember him as a wonderful storyteller – in his grandfatherly role – when he sat back and enumerated his unbelievable tales of travel with his twinkling eyes, to my daughter – he could talk to all levels, young, old, his peers and the credulous.

His Gandhian minimality and belief in Indian philosophy are evident in plain living and high thinking (Ruskinian as well?) that was a motto in his life and one can trace Tagore's inventiveness in dress design in Nirmal Bose. His shirt and trousers with innumerable pockets and flaps which he was touchingly proud of were designed by himself. I remember him showing my daughter where he would hang his mug and whistle, where he would tuck in his toothbrush or torchlight – how each pocket and fold was made for utilitarian purpose to ensure that he was not encumbered by too much luggage. His personal needs were few – (a Gandhian effect) – his vision immense.

Needless to say, one cannot say everything one would like to about a man of his stature, ever so warm and intimate with all around him. A man of an unmatchable sense of humour with that bubbling life - energy in that erect frame of body ( he was a tall man and I am not speaking from just my perspective) and the two dazzling eyes with a piercing look, though never shorn of a deep sympathy and love for all, need to be remembered especially in these days of human crisis. I vividly remember how he was full of dreams and plans, his ideas tumbling out and spilling over a roomful of listeners, sweeping all off their feet with their heady ambition, holding them spellbound, after which he would head out for and vanish in the Himalayas like Huckleberry Finn headed for the open beyond "civilization", planning incredible missions even at his advanced age. Age was no bar to Nirmal Kumar Bose in his effort to realize his dreams of exploration and research.

I am doubly grateful to Dr. R.K.Bhattacharya, the Director of the Anthropological Survey of India and his colleagues for giving me the opportunity to offer my heartfelt tribute to the memory of my teacher and feel happy to see that they have kept up the spirit of Professor Bose in furthering research in this Institute, one of the recent accomplishments demanding high acclaim being a detailed map of India showing the Scheduled Tribes. That last time when I saw Prof. Bose in the nursing home, his tall frame, wracked by pain which had shrunk visibly, emphasizing the largeness of the bed, is not the last picture I wish to harbour in my mind of this great man, or hope, I have not left for you today. Today I would like to revive the towering figure and an intellectual giant, as Nirmal Bose was in his time – resurrecting the legacy he has left for us – his students, friends and one-time colleagues.

Lastly, I am sure, the sessional deliberations to follow in this seminar with the participation of renowned scholars in the field, will enlighten us on the achievements of the great teacher.

# Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose : A Gandhian Anthropologist

## Baidyanath Saraswati

When I was going through the forest alone in the dark, someone came near to tell me, "go to the villages"! In the first light of a first dawn, I wandered from one village to another. I followed him. He said, "go to the potters"! And through all this journey, I had the glimpse of the village India. Forty years later, I return to the village seeking that which no longer exists. Nor does he who showed me the path whispers any more. But inside me the village is alive, I hear the voice of my Guru. Homage to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose.

### **Outstanding Contributions**

Anthropologists have defined culture as "shared ideas" (Wissler 1916), "social heritage" (Malinowski 1931), "abstraction from behaviour" (Dollard 1939), "learned behaviour" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952), and many others in more than three hundred ways. Bose (1929) defines culture as the crystallized phase of man's activities, includes certain material objects and technique, with the aid of which man experiences supreme emotions of pleasure, which are, however, of unknown value. To my knowledge the relation between the "soul of culture and experience" has been highlighted only by Bose. He offers an example from Indian intellectual tradition:

"In the Hindu scriptures, the desires of mankind are classified into three categories; viz. those connected with (1) *Artha* or economic needs, (2) *Kama* or sexual desires,

<sup>\*</sup> The paper was originally sent to the Asiatic Society, Kolkata, for presentation in a seminar.

and (3) *Moksha* or the desire for peace through spiritual emancipation from the sorrows and sufferings of human existence. Now, all that we understand by culture goes to satisfy one or more of these impulses. It thus helps human beings to live happily through a satisfaction of their basic needs and desires. The observance of *Achara* or customary practices prevalent in a country or in a particular social group existing there in, is thus *Dharma*, which literally means that which sustains life. The observance of culture can thus be reduced to a threefold *Dharma*, viz. *Arthadharma*, *Kamadharma* and *Mokshadharma*."

"Each of these Dharma acts in four phases; viz (1) Vastu or material objects, (2) Kriya or habitual actions, (3) Samhati or social groupings and (4) Tattwa or knowledge. The fourth phase is again divisible into two namely as knowledge or Visharamulaka, i.e. based upon criticism and Viswasamulaka i.e. based upon faith. There are certain items of knowledge which are necessary to be improved by constant criticism. Knowledge regarding the workings of a machine or a human society is of this order. A more correct acquaintance with the subject helps us to deal with those things in a more efficient fashion. But knowledge regarding the existence of God is not of this order. The mere belief in the existence of God is enough for a religious man; a critical examination of its evidence is unnecessary, for it does not help a man to live a better life. This is the reason why we should distinguish clearly between two kinds of Tattva, namely that which becomes more useful through Vichara and that in which Viswas is the chief element; criticism being, to say the least, out of place."

"The three principal desires of mankind thus act in four main phases. But in each of these three *Dharma*, viz. *Artha*, *Kama and Moksha*, we recognize another tendency which is governed by man's eternal love for the beautiful or *Sundara*. This love for the beautiful is not necessarily of sexual origin; it runs through all the other spheres of human activities as well. It is an important principle which brings into the divergent phases of man's cultural life a unity of purpose and movement, which may be more or less deep seated in operation" (Bose 1929).

Malinowski's theory of "need" and Ruth Benedict's analysis of "culture as an ideational pattern" appeared later than Bose's interpretation of the Indian theory of "human desires" and the "soul of culture". J.B.S. Haldane (1956) used Bose's classification of cultural features, at great length, to examine whether tradition exists among animals; 'Social animals transmit Vastu or material objects from one generation to another, and Kriya or habitual action is also quite often learned by them. However, it is more doubtful that Samhati or social organization is traditional in animals. The question of traditional Tattva knowledge in animals is difficult to answer, because we can only infer knowledge from habitual actions. Some birds and insects learn rapidly, though there is no evidence to support that such knowledge of the birds and insects is comparable with the Viswasamulaka Tattva existing in human societies. A few animals, such as bower birds, show Sundardharma, behaviour satisfying aesthetic needs, though it does not appear to be traditional. It is conceivable that some higher animals can perform their

Mokshadharma in their post reproductive period, but there is no evidence of its cultural transmission".

Bose was fascinated by Kroeber's and Wissler's studies of cultural trait and cultural integration. He applied this approach in the study of the spring festival of India (1927) and discussed it at length in Cultural Anthropology (1929), which he wrote just at the age of twenty-eight. This little book from an unknown young Indian scholar attracted the attention of Kroeber (1930) who reviewed it favourably in the American Anthropologist. Later on, Kroeber and Kluckhohn in their compendium Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (1952) included as many as ten citations from his Cultural Anthropology. Bose called attention to the cultural history of India as reflected in principal foodstuff (wheat or millet, rice) and other material traits. His original orientation in this field was undoubtedly the American Diffusionist School. But he did not limit his work to a consideration of cultural history. He applied its principles to present his views on India's national integration.

Bose initiated a massive survey of culture traits in village India. One or two villages were selected in each district of Indian mainland, thus covering 430 villages. From the information gathered on forms of villages, types of cottages, staple diet, oils and oilpresses, ploughs and husking implements, men's and women's dresses, foot-gears and bullock-carts, he drew a picture of India:

"The structure of Indian unity can therefore be compared to a pyramid. There is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less as one mounts higher and higher. It is needless to say that the implication is not that the village people are more different from one another than city people or sophisticated and propertied classes; but that, whether it is a villager or a dweller of Indian towns, there is more variety in regard to some aspects of life and less in relation to others.

It will also be noticed in many cases that styles present in India have affiliation with styles in neighbouring countries. The presence of one or two special varieties of the plough and yoke, and of portable multi-socketed wooden mortars for husking paddy take us over to some portions of South-East Asia. And similar affinities can be drawn in relation to domestic architecture between India and Sumatra" (Bose 1961).

Bose stressed on the fact that the dimensions of Indian culture are not limited. The "unity and diversities" was the basic frame of reference of all of his writings. His conception of the "soul of culture" or "core ideas" (1929) has great significance for the present and future development of anthropology and sociology. In the study of Indian civilization, caste appears as a proverbial elephant. Caste is changing, and yet not changing. Bose discussed this matter in a thorough and learned fashion. Like the sage Yajnavalkya, he used metaphors to defend the related theory:

"The value of gravity is constant. It operates with equal force upon a flying aeroplane and a kite, or upon an apple which falls down on the ground from a tree. In each case, however, there are a hundred other factors which, along with G, give rise to the observed phenomena. If someone said that each separate phenomenon must be analysed on its own, and it would be idle to look for anything common called G, one could only say that it would be wrong; for G exists, and is in operation behind all the different phenomena in question. It is, however, not the whole of the three phenomena described; and the ancillary factors are as important in an understanding of the end-results as the pull of gravity.

If somebody similarly tries to study caste as it actually appears in different parts of India, among the 'high' and 'low', in the regulation of marriage or choice of occupations, or in political behaviour, he is not disregarding differences. He is trying to locate, if possible, the core-elements of caste, and see how they have operated under a diversity of historical situations" (Bose 1976).

He pointed out that core-ideas and attitudes underlying caste changed little from the late Vedic and early Buddhist period to middle ages, but the British commercial and administrative system caused deep erosion in caste structure. To demonstrate that every institution is reborn in every age, and set in conformity with the life of those who operate it in their own time, he used another metaphor:

"It is just like inheriting an old motor car, which may have been used in one way in the past, while today it may be used for carrying garbage, or its engine harnessed to run a generator of electricity or work a water-pump. ... When a motor car of the caste system is passed on from one generation of men to another, it also serves to modify the need and actions of the present generation of men and women. In our ordinary life, there might thus be a large number of left-overs from the past. And these may substantially affect the life and demands of the present generation of men. So that, it is perhaps not enough to examine how a particular institution functions today, but also how the present habits and desires of men have themselves been shaped under the influence of inherited culture-elements" (Bose 1976)

Bose tells us much about how Indian civilization has gone very far in this direction. He views Indian civilization in its totality.

"When caste system was formed in part by the integration of various tribal or communal groups into one productive system, the leaders of Brahminical society thought that it would be right to allow each such group to continue the practice of its original socioreligious rites and ceremonies with the minimum amount of adjustment or change. One of the central ideas which thus ruled was that each culture is built round one coreidea; and as no culture sees Truth in its wholeness – i.e. every community sees Truth only in fragment – the religion of a community should not be interfered with as long as its members allow the same right of freedom to others also to follow their own...

This idea of about the multiplicity of fractional views of Truth was a dominant element in Hindu religious

thought. And it is of significance that it spread from one corner of India to another, and even eventually pervaded some forms of non-Brahninical thought in the country in later times. In other words, this also brought about a uniformity in Indian civilization as much as the productive organization of caste and of property-relationships had done in other spheres of life" (Bose 1970).

Surajit Sinha (1970), a distinguished anthropologist and the notable disciple and biographer of Bose, tells us: "Bose did not like to associate himself with any "school" of anthropology, but preferred to place his identity as a "social historian". Highlighting Bose's intellectual temperament, he says: Boas, Kroeber, Wissler, Malinowski, Freud, Marx, Kropotkin and Gandhi were Bose's Guru. Among his admirers were J.B.S. Haldane, Gordon Childe, T. Dobzhanski, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Satyen Bose, Nandalal Bose, Jamini Roy, Benodebehari Mukhopadhyaya, Stella Kramrisch, Robert Redfield, and Erik Erikson. Since 1923 (until 1970) he published 37 books, 23 in English and 14 in Bengali, and more than 700 articles. Of these about half belong to the domain of anthropology proper, the rest cover a wide range of interests like politics, travelogue, art, architecture, literature, social work, etc". Sinha (1997) acknowledges that his own thinking has been substantially influenced by Bose. In his view, Bose had taken the task of probing into the social reality of the Indian situation in greater depths than many of his contemporary social scientists in India. He has listed Bose's outstanding contributions to anthropology: his grand design for developing home-base anthropological research in India, his understanding of the operation of caste system, his basic insight on the tribal life, his interpretation of the changing structure of Indian civilization,

his discovery of the culture zones of India and the pattern of Indian unity, his views on problems of national integration and modernization, his contributions in methodology and prehistoric archaeology, his functional definition of culture, and his science policy for India.

M.A. Dhaky (1998), and eminent art historian, finds Bose's singular contribution in the field of temple architecture: "His famous work, the Canons of Orissan Architecture, covered almost the whole range of the formal building traditions. Its impact can be easily detected in the subsequent work on Orissa temples. It was in essence a Bible for several scholars and outstandingly continues to be so. The students of medieval north Indian temple architecture are inestimably indebted to him. His second work Temple Designs was posthumously produced. The diary-pages reproduced in the book reflect two salient facts. First, he had visited as many sites as possible in different provinces, made rough impressionistic sketches, took measurements with the help of unsophisticated and handy instruments, and embarked upon an ambitious plan of an all-India itinerary. Second, his intention seemingly was to work out a chronometric system based on its Diffusion methodology developed in the field of anthropology. He started his journey from October 1939 and after a hiatus of some 15 years (when he was preoccupied with other important activities), he resumed his work in 1953, 1954, 1955 and finally in 1961. His book lends us insight into his thoughts and thinking. Surprisingly, much of what he observed there is even today relevant and valid".

## **Visionary Schemes**

Bose was deeply concerned with the development of man, and so his quest for social science. In his first brilliant and

learned book *Cultural Anthropology*, he raised the question: In what way will the social sciences prove to be of practical use? How will they guide us in the work of reform? Anthropology, he said, is not able to build up the hope of life in man, nor does it bring faith where there is none. He looked for a new science of man far more significant and far more direct, of practical use than anthropological theory.

Bose's learning in the social sciences has been through involvement in the problems of regeneration of a tired ancient society groaning under the shackles of colonial rule. In 1917, at the young age of 17, he participated in a famine relief operation in Bengal and conducted a systematic survey of economic conditions of a large number of rural families. In 1921, he studied the process of re-absorption and rehabilitation of indentured labourers who had migrated to the Indies from the Indian mainland and wanted to come back home. In 1922, he left the Presidency College of Calcutta in response to Gandhi's Non-Cooperation Movement. During 1930-36, he had remained engaged in Gandhian village reconstruction programme. Joined the 1942 August Movement, and was in the Dum Dum Central Jail for three years.

Bose studied the traditional canons of Orissan architecture from a master *silpi* (temple architect), suggested improvement in methods of dating Indian temples. His understanding of the caste system grew out of his creative experience as *khadi* constructive worker among the untouchable castes in a slum of the Bolpur town.

Bose had a particular genius which was just the thing required to understand man and culture. The great early triumph of his work in the 1920s was that he successfully explained the nature of Indian culture. Thereafter he began to break new

ground, and to develop a style of scholarship that was all his. His study of caste and tribe, Hindu social organization, Hindu method of tribal absorption, and Indian civilization provided a clear indication that indigenous knowledge had to be incorporated into any theory of cultural anthropology.

As Director of the Anthropological Survey of India, Bose worked out an imaginative phasing of research.

Phase I. Study of distribution of material traits all over India and mapping out the pattern of their distribution vis-à-vis linguistic areas.

Phase II Study of a few important ancient craft techniques – pottery and metal craft.

Phase III Study of social organization of crafts and of caste organization in different regions of India.

Phase IV Study of superstructure of Indian society – through the study of temple, *matha* and kingship.

Phase V Study of the process of modernization in caste and occupation, tribal movements and social movements in different regions of India.

In planning the research activities of the Survey he took great interest in researches in Physical Anthropology. He inspired a group of devoted young scholars to take up an all-India Anthropometric Survey and complete the reports on the important skeletal remains of Harappa and Brahmagiri.

Bose's ingenious study of Calcutta presents the uniqueness of Indian city culture. He gave an explanation that established, as far as any theoretical paper ever could, the reality of the caste system. In a city like Calcutta which has been exposed to nearly two hundred years of modern commercial, industrial development, he said, the great legacy of caste persists.

"The diverse ethnic groups in the population of the city have come to bear the same relation to one another as do the castes in India as a whole. ... Actually, the superstructure that coheres the castes under the old order seems instead to be re-establishing itself in a new form. Calcutta today is far from being a melting pot on the model of cities in the United States" (Bose 1965).

As Commissioner, for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Bose in his first Report 1967-68, drew attention to the 'Weakest Link' in the Indian population, and called into question the misplaced concern of the State.

"Through a special concern for the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, a view has wrongly grown up in some quarters that all members of the Scheduled Tribes form an exploited class while all plainsmen are their exploiters. This overlooks the fact that the plainsmen themselves may be divided into exploiters and exploited, while similar divisions may also exist among the tribal communities. An exclusive concern for the unprivileged of one particular community may encourage the unwary to develop a defensive attitude which may eventually lead to a feeling of exclusiveness and even conflict with the rest. If it is one's purpose to bring about an end of exploitation altogether, the very best course would be

to work for the sake of all those who suffer from similar disabilities, no matter to what caste or tribe they belong" (Bose 1972).

## **Gandhian Thought**

Bose's analysis of Gandhian thought is of enormous significance to anthropology. He discovered Gandhi in a scientific manner. He was observing, following, and interpreting Gandhi since 1921.

"I have tried to study Gandhi's writing with reverence; and have endeavoured to keep my mind, as far as possible, free from personal preconceptions, so that the meaning of what he has written may come clearly to me" (Bose 1947).

Gandhian rebellion made a deep impact on Bose. Alliance with Gandhi helped him upgrading anthropological research, moving into a new direction, a new anthropology of India. While doing so he placed along with Gandhi's views his personal observations by way of comment or criticism. On Gandhi's faith in God and Marxian's view of History or Nature, he did not fully agree.

He refuted in Marxian faith that freedom is the goal towards which history is inevitably leading mankind, or that progress is itself an undeniable causal law. On Gandhi's faith in the operation of a Higher Law ruling human destiny, Bose the anthropologist confessed:

"I have not yet come across any sure evidence on which I can depend for the formation of such an opinion. For me the existent of a Higher Purpose has neither been proved nor disproved. And so long as it remains so, I shall prefer to continue in my belief that the observed progress in human history (though it is not deep in quality) has been brought about by the operation of intelligent love".

There is an implication that the Marxian communist subscribes to a form of super organic theory of culture. Personally, I find it hard to accept the super organic theory. There have been moments in history when the active element has asserted itself in individuals, as well as in large masses of mankind, and given culture, including the course of economic events an unexpected turn. That such occasions are rare is due to the fact that men like to avoid the sufferings consequent upon every change, and thus conserve their nervous energy. And it is their inner acquiescence, born out of conservatism which gives culture its apparent power to rule over the lives of men" (Bose 1947).

He appreciated Gandhi's originality in drawing supreme lesson from history that there is a benevolent law operating behind universal processes.

"Many may call it the unknowable, but it is there all the same. Under the influence of the law, mankind has progressed in course of time towards a deeper realization of the essential unity of life. Barriers between communities have also been gradually breaking down" (Bose 1947).

Gandhi's gospel of work appealed to him very much. When he first read Tolstoy he realized that he is spending his

days in intellectual pursuit. That made him restless, and he rushed to devote himself to productive service in order to compensate for the life he was living. The work of organizing a *Khadi* centre, without any form of outside aid, relieved him immensely (as he said) in a "spiritual sense". But the work was interrupted by circumstances beyond his control. He joined the workers in the political field. In Bose's own words:

"This was the duty of distributing the fruits of socially useful intellectual labour to my neighbours. The cause of pure scientific research became, at the same time, once more precious to me. It gained a new significance; but its character was also changed in conformity with my newly developed social conscience" (Bose 1947).

Bose, a conscientious scholar, was concerned with the meanings and responsibilities of social science. Gandhi impressed him very deeply. He adopted Gandhi in his scientific frame of reference. As Bhattacharya (1997) makes it explicit: "He discovered in this naked *fakir* a scientist, a genuine seeker after truth. This *fakir* could welcome new truths and act according to them. Bose could speak on Gandhiji without emotion but with a deep sense of inner commitment. He was the first scientist who presented Gandhiji not only as a man, but also as a rebel, who wanted to change himself as well as change other men and the society through love and non-violent persuasion".

Bose brought out a book of collections from Gandhiji's English writings which serve as an epitome of his thoughts on various subjects. In his another work he gave an outline of Gandhi's economic and political ideas while tracing their evolution. His third major book is devoted to Gandhi's

personality and the actual manner of his execution of ideas into practice. The fourth is a critical study of the various *satyagraha* movements on the Indian soil, presenting Gandhi as a 'practical idealist'.

Bose's analysis of Gandhi's political thought has great significance to those who wish to pursue the idea of freedom to the masses. His interpretation of Gandhi's great and eventful life is important for those who tread toward an understanding of human nature. His third book, *My Days with Gandhi*, deals with the last phase of Gandhi's life which, in many respects, stands out as the most critical and certainly the most dramatic phase which ended with his martyrdom in January 1948. This book is not a work of psychology aimed at dissection of Gandhi, but a significant contribution to anthropology, particularly, the field of culture and personality. Bose, the honest Gandhian and scientist, writes about this book which waited publication for nearly three years:

"Some expressed the fear that the book may give rise to misunderstanding; while others held that it gave a more or less understandable explanation about some of the views and action of Gandhiji.

I thought long and reverently over the whole question, and have ultimately come to the conclusion that the possibility of misunderstanding along should not deter one from expressing a view which one believes to be true or near truth" (Bose 1953).

Bose used social science methodology to grasp Gandhi's personality. His explanation was based partly on the cultural conception of motherhood and partly on the understanding of human nature.

"In his endeavour to subordinate the lower elements of human nature, in order to follow more fully the discipline known as brahmacharya, Gandhi adopted a curious mental attitude which though rare, is one of the established modes of the subordination of sex among spiritual aspirants in India. It was by becoming a women that he tried to circumvent one of the most powerful and disturbing elements which belong to our biological existence. In his own case, the identification did not however reach the same measure of intensity which was in evidence in the case the Saint Shree Ramakrishna; but the feminine attitude developed as an important trait in his character ever since he began his practice of brahmacharya. And as the identification was never complete, the desire to examine how far it had advanced at any point of time, remained a permanent necessity with him" (Bose 1953).

Bose mentions how Gandhi was opposed to the division of India into predominantly Hindu and Muslim territories on the ground that this was going to be no solution of the communal problem. The Indian National Congress decided against his advice to accept the British offer. Gandhi was overcome by an intense feeling of loneliness. Bose remained with Gandhi in the disturbed areas of Noakhali, during the days full of darkness. He portrayed Gandhi as the actor in freedom movement and as an extraordinary person with 'spirit' or 'genius'.

"Gandhi's life had been like the Ganges in its influence upon the life of India. ...The river of life which he represented had its origins in the heights of the Indian Himalayas. For, in spite of the fact that he had been nourished by clouds, many of which had come wafting from distant foreign oceans, yet, after the raindrops had touched the living soil of his Indian life, they had been transformed and become completely Indian in form as well as in content" (Bose 1953).

Bose's analysis of Gandhi does not fit into the Apollonian or the Dionysian label of culture and personality. He finds in him a unique individual:

"Gandhi was an intense believer in individualism. According to him, a good society consisted of good individuals, and any social change was bound to begin with the transformation of the individual. The measure of reform achieved in the outward, objective, social sphere was no more than a measure and proof of the total and collective individual, internal transformation achieved. In this he represented one of the characteristic trends of Indian thought in which primacy is given to the individual. And that is the reason why, whenever he felt along, when his soul was engulfed on all sides by a prevailing darkness; he fought against it the supreme battle on the lonesome field of individual enterprise. Fasting of one Satyagrahi of the purest kind was, according to him, enough to bring about the downfall of an empire or its benign transformation" (Bose 1953).

Bose has emphasized "ideas" shared by Gandhi, because that helps relieve the fundamental misconception of the Western science of man and culture.

#### **Bose's School**

Nirmal Kumar Bose, as said before, gave a pioneering definition of culture in terms of classical Indian text. But he was not a man to be content to let the anthropologists debate that definition. He returned, with full force, at the heart of the context of human life, the foundation of being. His major aim was to find facts which would help social emancipation, the basis of becoming. So he got oriented toward Gandhi. He had ingrained training in human geography and anthropology to retain a flavour of classical ideas in Gandhi's national reconstruction movement. His visionary schemes treated, rather deeply, the nature and process of social change. His work represents the greatest achievement of Indian anthropology. As Sinha (1986) tells us; "Nirmal Bose was disturbed that Indian anthropologists, by and large, showed very inadequate interest in making certain areas of research on their own on the basis of innovating appropriate methodological and conceptual tools for probing deep into the social reality. He also believed that such scientific enquiry would gain momentum and a sense of direction if it was inspired by a concern for national development and liberation of mankind, particularly of the downtrodden."

Was Bose's alone voice crying in the wilderness? No. His was an "open school", full of its own delights, searching for unity in diversity. His works and ideas attracted many notable figures in academic world of anthropology. Among his admirers abroad mention may be made of A.L.Kroeber, Robert Redfield, Milton Singer, David G. Mandelbaum, Peter M. Gardner, McKim Marriott, Stella Kramrisch, Erick Erickson, T. Dobzhauski, Chie Nakane, Yolotl Gonzales, Eva Friedlander, and other Indianists. Among Bose's Indian students and admirers there are many who share his thoughts and follow his

way of fieldwork. Bose's style of scholarship is characterized by striking reflections and observations, the best exemplified in his *Paribrajaker Diary* (1940).

Among the Indian scholars who followed Bose, the work of Surajit Sinha resounds on its full glory, Sinha (1997) admits that his understanding of Indian civilization has been greatly influenced by Bose's ideas. As a leader of the team which studied the material culture zones of rural India, he worked on Bose's grand design of studying Indian unity and diversity. Of the sixteen persons who did intensive fieldwork, except for two sociologists and two geographers, all others were M.A. or M.Sc. in anthropology. As a general supervisor of the Project, Sinha (1961) acknowledges: "It has been a great privilege for us to work under the general leadership of Shri Nirmal Kumar Bose. He not only provided the basic theoretical and methodological framework for the project but inspired the whole team at every phase of its development by his working habits and brilliant insights." This project stimulated a lifelong interest in field research among various participants.

Bose's views on caste were followed by Nityananda Patnaik. His ideas of tribal studies influenced Annada Bhagabati. His concern for national reconstruction reflects in P.K. Bhowmick's applied anthropological research. His humanist value found expression in Biswanath Banerjee. His insight, in human geography was used by Saradindu Bose. His social survey of Calcutta inspired Surajit Sinha to present a cultural profile of cities. His study of temple impressed M.A. Dhaky deeply. His interest in prehistoric archaeology was shared by Dharni Sen and Gautam Sankar Ray. Birendra Kumar Bhattacharya found Bose as a man who shared many of Gandhiji's personal quality. Andre Beteille made Bose his Guru.

P.C. Joshi, T.N.Madan, and many others respected Bose for his new understanding of Indian reality.

### My Beloved Guru

For me, Prof. Bose remains a deathless teacher, a perennial source of inspiration, and a light that never goes off. I met him, for the first time in 1959 in the Anthropological Survey of India. He asked me to meet Dr. Surajit Sinha, then the officer-in-charge of the Nagpur Station of the Survey. I joined the team of young researchers engaged in the study of culture zones of India. My first field assignment was in Uttar Pradesh. That surge of fieldwork brought me to the halls of Bose's academe. Surajitda became my mentor. I learnt the alphabets of anthropology in the little villages. My next assignment was to study the potters. My deep bonding with my Guru was of sacramental importance for me. Bose took me before the wall map of India and said: "It is in this vast and beautiful land that you study the potters". I asked, "Sir, do I have to follow any schedule, as in the case of the previous study?" He said: "Nothing. Take a few notebooks, a stopwatch and a camera". I completed the project in collaboration with N.K.Behura. Bose was very pleased with our findings. And now he wanted us to do a more complex project on social and cultural aspects of pottery-making. As soon as he left the Survey, the pottery project faced a rough weather. But somehow I completed the work. Thanks to Surajitda who came to my rescue.

Bose's paper on the institution of asceticism (sannyasa) had struck me, because it conformed my personal experience of becoming a Buddhist neophyte in 1950. Surajitda gave me an opportunity to study the ascetics of Kashi. Toward the end of this project I expressed my desire to study the pandit, of

Kashi, which I thought will make the study of the complexity of the Indian civilization more intelligible. This proposal was turned down forthwith by the Anthropological Survey of India. Government institutions underestimate the power of an idea. I resigned from the Survey by virtue of an assessment, not out of a sentimental reaction. Prof. Bose and Surajitda supported me again at this moment of deep crisis. As a Fellow of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, I worked on *pandit*. During fieldwork, Bose once came to Kashi only to rekindle the fires of my early spirit. On this occasion, his discussion with Panditraj Rajeshwra Shastri Dravida, I recall, was too far advanced for my modest scholastic level. But I did realize that the scientists' *prayoga* could match with the *shastra* of the *pandit*, if approached with an open mind.

In my wanderings I have visited many shrines of anthropological enquiry, and finally I take refuge in Village India (1999) where fifty years ago, at the beginning of my professional life, I had met Prof. Bose. His spirit remains a quantum level stimulus for all my studies.

For example, I presented a model for anthropological research which brings into relief not only the details of technology often required for the interpretation of archaeological materials, but also the social system that organizes the tradition of technology and binds the artisans into a common social order. With the aid of this model, one can probe the various forms of cultures as also the processes by which cultures are woven into an organic whole (Saraswati 1970).

During the study of pottery technology, I was struck by the amazing relationship between craft and caste. This led me to study the Brahminic ritual traditions. Turning to the

geographical location of traditional groups of the Brahmins, it appeared that there are two broad culture zones - Gauda, the northern, and Dravida, the southern – marked by the distribution of typical marriage traits. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan form a meeting zone or mixed zone. The Brahminic groups claiming descent from both the Gauda and the Dravida sections are most numerous in this region. Such broad cultural zones appear again and again as one considers the other items of culture, such as art and architecture, dance and music, learned traditions, traditions of ascetics, modes of worship, gods of regional importance, and so on. Comparing the Brahminic culture zones with the distribution pattern of the non-Brahminic traditions, such as pottery-making cultures, a close relationship between the two sets becomes evident. Distinction between the North and the South is affirmed by the various items of material culture, viz. village plans, the forms of plough, bullock-carts, and oilpresses. But despite this broad regionalism, there is an overall unity of traditions in all the finer aspects of Indian culture (Saraswati 1977). The findings of my study corroborate Bose's earlier observation:

"In spite of local differentiation, the underlying ideas that guided the symbolic meaning of temple forms were common between the North and the South. The significance of the images continued to be subject to the same ideals as before, though the artistic traditions under which these were executed differed widely" (Bose 1963).

The validity of the idea that "the boundaries of the cultural areas or sub-areas do not tally with Grierson's boundaries of either linguistic families, like Indo-Aryan and

Dravidian or of branches within either of these families" was established by Bose (1961).

Caste is the most important field in which anthropologists have retained a permanent interest. Some scholars have tried to show that the system of caste had always been a means of dividing the people into privileged and underprivileged classes. Others have shown concern with its phoenix-like immortality. Bose has refined the interpretation of caste. He has shown how tribal communities have been absorbed into Hindu caste system, both economically and culturally; and how this process has been responsible for converting Hinduism into a federation of cultures, ruled over by a dominant set of ideas derived from Brahminical philosophy and ethic. The institution of asceticism (sannyasa), he said, provides a safety valve of individual liberty against the pressures of the rigid hierarchic caste system" (Bose 1951). Our study of the ascetics of Kashi has affirmed Bose's theory; "Asceticism is a safety valve ...at all levels of inter human relationship – an escape from the rigours of all kinds of human injustices. It serves as a balancing force in personal emotional disturbances. This conclusion we have carefully checked up with life histories of ascetics. The actual situation under which one renounces his family and society is the highest point of his tension. In most cases one chooses sannyasa in preference to suicide. In fact, sannyasa is a kind of suicide. A sannyasi is dead to his family, to his society; and, therefore, at the time of initiation he performs his own death rites" (Sinha and Saraswati 1978).

Urban anthropology in post-independence India is marked by a series of studies. Bose and Sinha entered into a

new venture in portraying sciences closer to their counter parts in creative fields. This led me in 1973 to organize a seminar on "Social and Cultural Profile of Kashi". What emerged in this exploration was something different from the historian's and the urban social scientist's view of a city. It became sufficiently clear that Kashi is a complexity, a city of contrasts, a city of heterogeneous elements. In its self-identification, Kashi is a city which gives equal emphasis to spiritual (*moksha*) and material (*bhoga*) developments in man and society, a city of cultural pluralism, a city of affluence and grinding poverty, and a city of two religions and three cultures (Saraswati 1975).

In 1959, Bose had launched a major project on village study, which covered the whole of India. Inspired by this extraordinary work, I repeated the study of Indian villages in 1999, with a fresh approach. The work is progressing in 100 villages, from all the States and Union Territories. Taking Bose's theory of "unity in diversity", we find that the village is a product of many interacting factors, which may be classified into four major categories: (1) the constitution of individuals, (2) the nature of the physical environment, (3) the cultural form, and (4) the unique historical experience of its members. These components are fused in the creation of the personality of a village. Every village is a "person". It has a name, a set of physical features, a quality of mind, and an integrated system of behaviours. The village name signifies a (social) history, a (sacred) landscape, or a (powerful) character harking back to distant ages. A villager identifies himself with the name of his village. The village name is sacrosanct. A woman is prohibited from uttering the name of her husband, and those of her parentsin-law and husband's village. The personality of a village is determined by the distinctiveness of its members (persons), institutions and traditions. By sifting "group personalities" the nature and uniqueness of a village can be determined as national characters are determined. "The village is also perceived as a "cosmos". It has a circle of marriage and kinship, a circle of knowledge, a circle of creativity, a circle of festivals and rituals, and a circle of traditions, making a unified entity in the minds of men. To grasp the surface of configuration of interaction, villages are traditionally organized in clusters and layers originating from geographical or historical reality. At this level of perception, the universe of village as a whole is divided into horizontal and vertical realms of form and existence (Saraswati 1999).

Whatever ideas I have endeavoured to develop is largely Bose's contribution. He was not only a leading anthropologist of our time, who made a series of experiments that has now established a "new anthropology" and a "new understanding of Gandhian thought", but also a great soul to be remembered all time. Without a doubt, his intellect coincided with the sentiment. Once, as commissioner for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, he was visiting Uttar Pradesh. He asked me to be with him. We went to Chauri Chaura, a place associated with the National Freedom Movement. He told me at great length how on the 5th of February 1922, a mob at Chauri Chaura set fire to the Police Station when altogether 22 persons were killed. Gandhi was very upset by this act of mob-violence, and he suspended the satyagraha. Resting on his knees, Bose collected a handful of earth from the place where this incident had taken place. We went to Kushinagar, the place associated with Buddha's death. There he stood at the feet of the sleeping Buddha with tears falling from his eyes. We proceeded to Lumbini, the birth place of *Sakyamuni* Buddha. Stayed there overnight. At five in the morning, he went to collect sacred earth with the same reverence shown in Chauri Chaura. On an other occasion, I had seen Prof. Bose addressing a gathering at the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad in Patna. As he told the audience how sister Nivedita loved India, his voice quivered and he could not speak any longer. He was always like this in life; a scholar wanderer, a man of great emotions who felt great things in the depth of his soul.

I believe, Bose's work will continue to delight future generations who will never see him but will read his works. The door of this extraordinary Gandhian anthropologist stands open to all those who seek to do this kind of thing better and better. Bose's method will enable the social scientists to develop new methods, new knowledge, new understanding and new benefits from the "concerned exploration" of man.

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# Prof. N.K.Bose : An Interpreter Of Gandhism

# Bhowani Prosad Chatterjee

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose (whom we reverently called Nirmalda, 'da' being the short form of 'Dada' meaning an elder brother so addressed by usually suffixing it with his name) himself admitted that his first love was science and many years of his life were spent in abstruse scientific research. Gandhiji prized this credence of Prof. Bose and requested him to assess with his scientific outlook how far the organizations founded by him had been observing non-violence in their activities. Gandhiji opined that 'Organisation is the test of non-violence'. This dictum was very favourite to Prof. Bose and he used to quote it very often. However, despite his first love for science, Prof. Bose did not ignore his social debts and obligations. In the thirties when he was imprisoned for joining the freedom movement, Gandhiji's writings on Khadi made some stir in him and since then he started reading Gandhiji's writings very seriously and interpreting them in his own way. But Gandhiji warned by saying that Prof. Bose's analysis might not depict the true perspective of Gandhiji's mind in as much as they do not reflect Gandhiji's views on God and Spiritualism. Gandhiji advised Prof. Bose to stay with him for a few days 'to watch his life, how he eats, sits, talks, behaves' etc. as the sum total of these was his religion.

As is well known Gandhiji's life was deeply rooted in the faith of God and to him Truth was God. Gandhiji maintained that cosmic laws and the law maker i.e. God are identical. On the contrary, Prof. Bose did not nourish such a view. He was an agnostic. He maintained that the 'existence of a High Power has neither been proved nor disproved'. In a letter to Gandhiji

he stated "Personally, I never prayed, but in private life, I frequently try to relate my life's little work to the things which I hold dear in life. If anything comes in the way, I try to weed it out by conscious effort, but that is hardly prayer on any account" (My Days With Gandhi, N.K.Bose p.51.) Gandhiji on seeing this letter said to Prof. Bose that he 'found nothing objectionable in it'.

That was, of course, his first reaction. A few days later he asked Prof. Bose "Don't you believe in anything?. Prof. Bose replied "Yes, as a scientist I do believe in truth. For in the laboratory or in our scientific investigation, we undoubtedly try to discover the truth by observation and experiment. Unless we believe that there is something worth striving for, why should we engage in the chase at all." Gandhiji replied, "That will do." (*ibid*, pp. 55-56).

Prof. Bose was very much impressed by this flexibility of Gandhiji's mind. As a matter of fact, Gandhiji's valour for freeing himself from the bondage of life's comforts in different situations attracted him very much. Gandhiji never claimed something super human in him. He always said that he was born a normal man with human weaknesses like others. The only thing that was to be specially mentioned about him was that he was a seeker of truth and in search of truth he could sacrifice everything. Once he said 'Thank God; My much vaunted Mahatmaship has never fooled me'. (Gandhi Charit - N.K.Bose, p.101.) Prof. Bose too in his deliberations never tried to present Gandhiji as a superman. In some matters he argued with Gandhiji and Gandhiji wished to know more about Prof. Bose's arguments. Prof. Bose was of the opinion that though for Gandhiji, selfrepression was very natural; to many of his associates it was only a blind imitation. Gandhiji did not agree to it. Once a

gentleman fell in love with a lady and wanted to marry her. He said that his love was wholly free from animal passion and would wait till his counterpart ascended to that position. Gandhiji described their love as poetic. Prof. Bose did not agree and argued from the point of Freudian Psychology. Gandhiji in a letter to Prof. Bose wrote "What is Freudian Philosophy? I have not read any writing of his .....If you hold on to the view you have expressed in your letter to 'K', you do owe it to me explain your standpoint and enable me to understand myself more fully than I do". Two months later, during the communal turmoil when again he met Prof. Bose, Gandhiji complained, why did he not write to him on Freudian Philosophy. (*Gandhi Charit* p.99.)

It is needless to mention that Gandhiji was not a theoretician. He was a man of action. He relied more upon a basic change in the present mental organization of mankind. According to Gandhiji, as Prof. Bose realized, "this was to be brought about not by the association of individuals who had perfected themselves by solitary personal endeavour, but by the co-operative activity of people who tried to be more and more perfect as they worked out his (Gandhiji's) twin programme of constructive work, and non-violent non-co-operation." (*Studies in Gandhism*, N.K.Bose, pp. 9-10.)

While constructive work aimed at building up the foundation of a new society based on truth and non-violence, the purpose of non-co-operation was obliterating the old and wrongs in the society. Prof. Bose used to compare this strategic program with war. He had a deep knowledge of military science. Gandhiji used to call *satyagraha* as 'moral equivalent of war'. Prof. Bose was obliged to interpret this analogy. Referring to Clauswitz's (Military teacher of a German King) definition of

'war' as that of imposition of one's will upon another through punishment, he said that *satyagraha* or moral equivalent of war was to change the heart of the opponent through persuasion by inviting sufferings. Echoing Gandhiji's advice he reminded that invitation of sufferings must be an intelligent act and in no way should it be mechanically done.

As a matter of fact, being a man of science, Prof. Bose's adherence towards Gandhism was based on intelligent pursuit. Once he asked a devoted Gandhiite "Why do you spin?" The reply was, "It gives pleasure to my heart." Prof. Bose could never forgive him. On many occasions and during intimate talks he narrated this story without, of course, naming the gentleman concerned. Here he got the support of the Mhatma, because Gandhiji categorically said that no one need to follow his advice if that does not appeal to his heart. Gandhiji opined "Through khadi we are struggling for establishing supremacy of man over power driven machine in place of supremacy of power-driven machine over man. Through khadi we are trying to establish equality of all men and women in place of terrific inequality that is seen today." (*Harijan*, 21,12,47.)

Gandhiji said that economic equality was the key-stone of Swaraj in his conception. He said that equal distribution of wealth would be the ideal for a society, but perhaps that could never be achieved. So he would be satisfied with equitable distribution of wealth. Prof. Bose knew that Gandhiji was not alone in this matter. There were men of other schools who promised economic equality. Such a man was Lenin. So he proposed to compare Lenin with Gandhi and in doing so, he said that according to these two great personalities, 'the world's suffering is mostly caused by the existence of an unjust social system which allows one class of men to live upon the toils of

another'. To end this system 'Prof. Bose exhorted', Lenin's endeavours were directed towards securing such a revolution as would bring the state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But Gandhiji maintained a different view. He believed that the root of the problem did not lie in the authority of the state, but in the character of the individual, which had made the existence of the state possible. Accordingly, as Prof. Bose viewed, Gandhijii's efforts were directed towards bringing about the necessary change in individual character and this 'he proposed to do by his constructive, economic and social programme on the one hand, and by non-violent non-co-operation, which advances by progressive stages, on the other'. (Studies in Gandhism, pp. 300-01.)

Gandhiji's theory of Trusteeship, which he propounded during the later phase of his life, stirred up Prof. Bose's thought. In 1946 after communal strife in Noakhali, Gandhiji went there on a peace mission. He invited Prof. Bose to stay with him and to act as his Bengali teacher and interpreter. Gandhiji deputed his permanent secretary Pyarelal to a village for peace work and hence Prof. Bose had to perform his secretarial works also. During this sojourn he put some important questions to his master on Trusteeship. One of the questions was whether or not the first trustee would have the right to nominate his successor. 'How will the successor of the present incumbent be determined on his demise?'. Gandhiji's categorical answer was that 'the trustee in the office would have the right to nominate his successor subject to legal sanction'. By 'legal sanction' Gandhiji meant the state to finalise the successor of the original trustee.

Another question put to Gandhiji was if anything gained through violence could be defended by non-violence. Here also

Gandhiji's reply was in the negative. He said that not only the ill-gotten properties could not be defended by non-violence but the latter required abandonment of all ill-gotten gains.

These remarks of Gandhiji left a deep impression in Prof. Bose's mind and he extended this idea in a larger spectrum. He used to say that no social ideal, which does not deal with the country's defence, was worth considering. Have Gandhiji's ideas of social order any say on this vital point? Prof. Bose used to pose this question. And he had the answer.

Once he was having a discussion with some delegates from the Western countries. He was talking to them on Gandhiji's Trusteeship theory. He said that the principle of trusteeship was based on the spirit of renunciation and the sense of leaving out the right of exclusive possession of properties. This is applicable to individuals as well as to countries. A friend from the foreign delegation said that his country was following this principle as because his country very often dispatched cash and kind to the distressed countries for alleviating poverty. Prof. Bose did not agree. He questioned whether by doing so the country denounces its right of exclusive possession on all the natural resources the country enjoys. As a matter of fact, Gandhiji believed and as Prof. Bose exhorted, this feeling of exclusive right was the seed of war. So if a country wants to practise non-violent defence it will have to follow non-violent economy which is based on 'Aparigraha' i.e. non-possession. By this method a country may win over the heart of the people of the invading country and even if thereafter war is thrust upon it, the country will adopt the means of Satyagraha. In this way it would resist cold war, viz, economic war, psychological war and ultimately the battle.

In Noakhali Gandhiji plunged into two very difficult experiments. One, re-establishing peace, amity, mutual tolerance in the disturbed area through non-violence. The other was celibacy. Gandhiji did not want to raise hue and cry over this personal experiment and at the same time he did not want to hide it. Perhaps Gandhiji thought that the success of his aforesaid first experiment depended upon the success of his second experiment, because, as Gandhiji himself said that every thing is burnt down by the fire of love and if not, then that is for the less intensity of that fire itself. So he wanted to examine for himself how pure he had been or he wanted to make himself much and much purer. However, many of his disciples did not like this. So when after Gandhiji's death Prof. Bose wanted to publish his days with Gandhi narrating inter-alia Gandhiji's experiment with celibacy some followers of Gandhiji tried to desist him. Prof. Bose did not oblige them and published the book on his own. Here he did not try to interpret but narrated the story with reverence and dissension. Perhaps he remembered Gandhiji's advice to him – before interpreting his writings 'you must watch my life'. And in that way Prof. N.K.Bose raised himself in stature as an interpreter of Gandhism.

# A Nationalist Social Scientist's Approach to Art

## Pranabranjan Ray

At the outset, I would like to beg your indulgence for a little misdemeanour in this august meet of professional social scientists. If my little tribute to that great moulder of intellect, that Nirmal Kumar Bose was, sounds like pages of a memoir, please take it that I am doing that with some justification.

My earliest remembrance of him is as a friend whom my father held in high esteem. As a voracious reader, still in the undergraduate classes, I made my acquaintance with the author of Hindu Samajer Gadan, but not with the person, yet. Fortunately I chose to study sociology and social anthropology, as special papers, in the post-graduate course in Political Science at the University of Calcutta, between 1956 and '58. That gave me an opportunity to be taught by Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. It was still not a one to one relationship. That closeness developed after I started my research project on the pata painting of Kalighat, under his guidance. The objective was to find out the socio-political causation of change in theme and style of art. Having known my interest in finding inter-connexion between social process and art practice, and especially the work he had done in the field, he agreed to take me under his wings. My citing of one of his acts had really clinched the issue. From a passing reference in the novelist Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay's autobiography, being serialized in the literary monthly, Katha Sahitya, in the late fifties and early sixties, I had come to know that it was Nirmalbabu who had introduced the Kalighat pata and some surviving patua painters, to the two stalwarts of modern Indian art, Nandalal Bose and Jamini Roy, in the late

twenties. After that, both of them, in their own individual ways, had appropriated, internalised and transformed elements from the visual linguistics of Kalighat pata. Later, when I would spend hours with Prof. Bose, I once asked him about his motive for taking the initiative. To my amazement the nationalist did not say that he considered it necessary for an artist to identify himself with one or the other indigenous tradition to display his Indianness, but for the social acceptability of an art, especially of a thematically and stylistically new art, some kind of a continuity from a known older system of art becomes helpful. Unless a key is provided for understanding, new art is not likely to communicate. In response to the emerging social situation of the colonial metropolis, that Calcutta was in the nineteenth century, the immigrant patua painters, of the Kali-temple area of Calcutta, created an art-system which was radically different from the art of their rural brethren. Yet, anybody, with eyes for art, would easily detect the family resemblance between the stylistics of both. N.K. Bose would consider it futile for the artists to look for thematic and stylistic take off points from any of the sastriyalmargiya systems of ancient and medieval India which have lost their relevance. Bose would, on the other hand, prefer the modern Indian artists to look for keys in the living traditions of lokajaldesaja arts and crafts, for social communicability of their work. That was precisely the reason why he took initiative in familiarizing Nandalal and Jamini Roy with the art of a parampara in transition. Professor Bose probably found in me a person who could pick up the thread he had long dropped off and carry it to its logical end. I continued being a private apprentice to him, even after joining the West Bengal District Gazetteers. Coincidentally, the Gazetteers brought me closer to him, when he became a member of its advisory committee. By the mid sixties, I had earned his confidence

enough to be nominated by him for participation in several high level seminars and symposia throughout the country. For the kind of socio-cultural conditionality and technological framing, I prioritise in my discourses on art and artists, I owe a great deal to my revered teacher and mentor, the late Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose. I, therefore, thank the organizers of the Nirmal Kumar Bose Centenary Seminar for giving me this opportunity to publicly acknowledge my debt to this great humane scientist.

In an age when under the impact of Western Modernist notions, the arts were increasingly being looked upon as instruments of gifted individuals' self-expression, Nirmal Kumar took his stand against the expressionist theory of art. In his earliest known essay on art, published in the little known Teachers' Journal, in 1929, entitled, 'Art and Religion', he took a historical overview to emphasise the social function of art. The essay was an endeavour to prove how, art in most cultures, for the longest spans of time, has either been used as an instrument of rituals and/or as perceptual means of communication of religious precepts and concepts. Even the deviants from the dominant social (religious) ideology would use the arts, in the same manner, for social communication. At the same time, N.K.Bose held that, even when the arts were closely linked with institutional religion, these had their differentiated existence, with their own perceptual communicational capacities. Confidence in these autonomous capacities ultimately led to the secularisation and separation of the arts from religion, in the course of historical development. The pre-historian's penchant for technology was already discernible even in that early article. Bose made it a point, in it, to state that it was technology of art, which (for him) included also the stylistics, on which depended the autonomous perceptual quality of art.

In a number of articles, published in short-lived and now forgotten Bengali journals, between 1929 and 32, on temple architecture, especially of Orissa, Nirmal Kumar sought to establish the theory that while art needs to depend on social motivation and function for its existence, the motivation and function do not determine the physical structure and the perceptual qualities of art. Citing examples of differences in the physical structure and perceptual qualities between the temples of north India and Orissa built roughly in the same period of time, as well as between the temples of different regions of Orissa built at different periods of time, Nirmalbabu argued that while the prime religious function of the temples remained constant the physical structures and perceptual qualities differed locationally and timewise. These preliminary probings into diffusion of cultural ideas and variations in objectification culminated into a publication in 1932, The Canons of Orissan Architecture. This pioneering work of Nirmal Kumar Bose remains his most penetrating and exhaustive work on art.

At one level *The Canons of Orissan Architecture* is a disguised polemical work. Stella Kramrisch, in her *magnum opus*, the *Hindu Temple*, had put forward the thesis that the temples of Puranic divinities were constructed on the basis of principles derived from metaphysical concepts propounded in some *Agama* texts. At the base of the concepts were some notions about human anatomy and physiology. These notions were then given metaphorical meaning to arrive at a concept about metaphysical purpose of human existence. According to Dr. Kramrisch, the Hindu temple structurally replicated the metaphors, and thereby, visually and functionally, objectified the metaphysical concept.

The cultural anthropologist Nirmal Kumar contended that the Sudra builders neither knew the Sanskrit language nor were capable of understanding the abstruse metaphysical thoughts of the Brahmana pandits. On the other hand the technologically incompetent Brahmana *sastrakars* were generally incapable of transforming metaphors and metaphysics into building principles involving specific materials and relevant methods.

In the late twenties and early thirties when Nirmal Kumar was working on the tract, the theory of diffusion of culture was one of the hotly debated topics in the social sciences. Accepting the incontrovertible fact of diffusion of the Puranic Brahmanical culture, and its Buddhist and Jain detractions, in the sub-continent, through the process then known as aryanisation and later as sanskritisation, Nirmalbabu argued that the received traits of culture always underwent significant transformation in implementation. As a result of such transformation, variations became perceptible whenever the traits were reproduced elsewhere, in other climes and other times. There were several factors responsible for such variations.

The factor most responsible for the variations in the treatment of a trait of received culture, according to Bose, is the receiver's capacity and potentiality of reception, which again is a compound of his life experience, work habit, fund of knowledge, will to learn and expectation from the changeover.

As the Sudra builders of Orissa neither read the Sanskrit language nor understood the abstruse metaphysical concepts of the Brahmana *sastrakars* of the *Agamas*, the concepts had to be reframed for their understanding and retold in vernacular, by ones who were not conversant with the technology of

architecture. The builders then would conceptually construct the technological equivalents of their comprehension in vernacular, which would be suitable for oral transmission from generation to generation. The Sudra artisans' world was a world of oral and visual communication. The multi-layered mediated transmission of any non-technological idea, into a technology of making a cultural object, through oral means, over large time spans and territories, was bound to produce distinctive cultural objects, at different locations, in different periods of time.

According to Nirmal Kumar Bose, author of *The Canons*, the second most significant factor, responsible for the variation in reproduction of a received cultural trait, was the inherited technical *logos* and habit of work, in certain material and methods. Even after the *parampara*\_bound artisan would jettison older materials and associated methods, for making a new set of objects, residues of old habits would continue for a long time.

The Canon is not only a tract by a natural scientist turned social scientist, but by a humane scientist with an artist's sensibility. The last factor, that Prof. Bose had indicated by implication, responsible for the distinctiveness of the art of a territory, at a period of time, is something beyond the change brought in by acculturation and internalization. It is the sudden efflorescence of the genius of a people, at a period of time, due to convergence of many factors, at a historical juncture.

Nirmal Kumar's path-breaking contribution has been the discovery of a set of codes, in Oriya, incorporating rules of construction of *sikhara* and *pidha deuls*. Although Nirmalbabu had found some of these in written form, these undoubtedly have been parts of a much older oral tradition. *The Canons of*  the first of the second second

Orissan Architecture is a tract, based entirely upon these oral codes and a discourse upon these codes. A number of later-day Oriya and European scholars have pointed to Nirmalbabu's misquotations and misreadings. I see no reason to be apologetic on behalf of Professor Bose, by saying that a pioneer's inadequacies may be condoned. The detractors should know that an oral tradition is never an unchanging and homogenus body of utterings. Though different, the utterings which Nirmalbabu had collected in his time were as authentic as the ones which Mr. X collected from another location, thirty years after him. Seventy years after its publication, the theoretical conclusion that Nirmalbabu reached in the tract, remains as valid as ever. When a homogenized interpretation of Hinduttva is being attempted to be authoritarianly imposed from a centre, the tract merits to be reprinted, to counter that intellectually.

Chronologically speaking, Nirmal Kumar's next piece of writing on art was, 'An Illustrated Manuscript from Orissa' published in the *Modern Review*, in 1939. Though the article was a descriptive piece, in it too, Bose once again highlighted the nature and reason of local variation of a pan-Indian theme.

Nirmal Kumar Bose's last most significant piece of writing on art and artist was, 'Art of Ramkinkar Baiz' published in the Puja Special issue of *Hindusthan Standard* of Calcutta. The importance of the article lay in the fact that very early into Ramkinkar's career of a sculptor and painter, Nirmalbabu could assess the significance of Ramkinkar's art and indicate the artist's role in the making of modern Indian art. It was perhaps in this work Nirmalbabu argued that an art-system's necessary link with culture and society need not necessarily be at the level of visual surface only. Linkages with culture and society may be various and multifarious. To Ramkinkar, the artist, who

although was born and brought up in a rural working class family, the following of a parampara of a lokajaldesaja art was not important, partly because he was not born into a parampara and partly because he had his art education in the advanced school of Santiniketan. Ramkinkar found his larger-than-self cultural and social identity, in drawing inspiration from the rhythm of life of the simple rural folks whose pleasures and pain emanate from their work and pastime in natural environment. Ramkinkar's deep rootedness in the life of the people he knew, saved him from display of a mechanical identity with some long dead *aitihya* and made him a modern Indian artist.

As I had started this paper with a tribute to the mentor, from whom I had my early lessons in human sciences, with a personal note, I would like to conclude this paper with another personal note. Before I had found Prof. Bose as my teacher, I was taught to look at art by Ramkinkar Baiz. In 1972, when the Birla Academy of Art and Culture held a retrospective exhibition of Ramkinkar's work, I tried to repay my debt to him through an article on his work, I wrote for the Catalogue. I also wrote a longish review of the exhibition, for the daily *Hindusthan Standard*, as the art critic. The now defunct *Hindusthan Standard* was the predecessor of the present *The Telegraph*.

# Nirmal Kumar Bose - A concerned thinker, visionary and builder: some reflections<sup>1</sup>

P.K.Misra

### Introduction

I must say that writing this paper has been an emotional journey down memory lane. I was much younger when I first came in contact with him. He put me in the first major research project undertaken by him when he became the Director of Anthropological Survey of India and began to guide me. Thinking about what I should write for this seminar, I felt I have two choices; I can concentrate on my experiences with him as a research guide or do an analytical paper on his anthropological writings. As for the latter Dr. Surajit Sinha has done exceptionally good work on him and later the brief introduction by Andre Beteille in his translation of Bose's book 'Hindu Samajer Garan' adds to the appreciation of Bose's anthropological works. I therefore decided to concentrate on his former course, which I felt may become useful in further analyzing the contributions of Bose to Anthropology in particular and social sciences in general.

know about it. Bose was, 'driven by indomitable spirit of enquiry; he transgressed the boundaries of specific disciplines and the conventional divides between theoretical thinking and application of knowledge' (Sinha, 1984;1). He was systematic in whatever he did and imposed a strict regimen on himself and those who were around him. He always led from the front setting examples for others.

While he was still very young Bose expressed to his mother that he desired to work for his country. During his student days he participated in the freedom struggle but was not carried away by it. In 1921 after he completed his B.Sc.(Honours) in Geology, he joined M.Sc. course in Geology but decided to boycott the classes in response to a call for non-cooperation, a movement launched by the nationalists, Sinha tells us that Bose's diaries of that time indicate that he was going through an inner turmoil on the issue whether he should join the movement towards national emancipation or go in for pursuit of knowledge. While this inner debate was going on, on the suggestion of C.F. Andrews, Bose along with some others organized a camp for the repatriated indentured Indian labourers from Fiji, Trinidad, Mauritius and South Africa. Although he had yet not obtained a formal training in Anthropology his habit of being systematic and passion for details is noted in the work he did among the repatriated indentured Indians. He had conducted a detailed census of the people in the camp and collected information on the social background of 1050 persons belonging to about 450 families. Sinha writes 'the survey provides a wealth of information on how Indian rural society placed numerous obstacles in the process of re-absorption and rehabilitation of the in indentured labourers who had migrated to the Indies and

wanted to come back home' (ibid; 9). This is also the period when he on his own began the study of temple architecture in Orissa. Thus when he joined M.Sc. course in Anthropology at Calcutta University in 1923, at the call of Shri Ashutosh Mukherjee after a gap of two years he had already gained some first-hand field experience. His interests and concerns were also beginning to take concrete shape.

His coming back to academic field proved valuable to Indian Anthropology. He was perhaps the only nationalist anthropologist India has known. The field of anthropology, as is well-known has been dominated by colonial concerns. Indian anthropologists did little to change those concerns. Bose felt that they simply copied what was prevalent in anthropology in the West. In his essay of 1952; 'Current research projects in Indian Anthropology' Bose noted that 'by and large Indian Anthropologist had not been able to make any area of enquiry specially their own in which they had developed their own methodology of approach or theoretical interest of enquiry' (ibid; 56). He emphasized these observations at several places and in several platforms. In an article entitled, 'Fifty years of science in India: Progress of Anthropology & Archeology' based on a quick survey, he wrote 'The position of Indian Anthropology has, on the whole, been colonial in relation to schools which have dominated the European or American scene from time to time' (1963.1). He wanted to chart out a course which reflected Indian reality and knowledge. He wanted the perspective of India as whole should be kept while studying at different levels, material, organizational and abstract and also the interconnection between them. He was concerned to demonstrate the characteristic features of Indian civilization and show its underlying unity. He forcefully argued 'there is more unity in India's variety than one is likely to admit in moments

of forgetfulness' (1961; Introduction). He visualized that the structure of Indian unity can therefore be compared to a pyramid. There is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less at the social organizational level and at the levels of 'ideals or faiths or arts'. He wanted the reality and strength of India to be known so that the basic task of regenerating the colonially subjugated nation can be taken up scientifically. No sooner he got the opportunity in 1959 when he joined the Anthropological Survey of India (AnSI) as its Director he initiated research projects towards that end.

I was already in the AnSI having joined a few months earlier than him. The present paper is reflection of my interactions with him, participating in his research projects and learning from him.

#### First Encounter

I began to know Nirmal Kumar Bose only after he joined AnSI as its director. Before that I had not read or heard him. The leading anthropologists of that time in India had generally overlooked his contributions in spite of the fact that he had already done some pioneering work. His book Cultural Anthropology published in 1929 was favourably reviewed by the famous American Anthropologist A.L. Kroeber (1930). His collection of essays in Bengali Hindu Samajer Garan was published in 1949. Kroeber and Kluckhon had made ten citations in their famous compendium entitled 'Culture: a critical review of concepts and definition' (1952) from Bose's book Cultural Anthropology. The few departments of anthropology that existed at that time drew their inspiration mainly from the United Kingdom and the United States. In their scheme of things there was no place for a nationalist anthropologist like Bose. He was not mentioned in any of the curriculums of the universities. No wonder shock and surprise were expressed when he was asked to take over the reigns of the AnSI as its head.

I had joined the AnSI as a trainee in October 1958 to receive advance training in anthropology. Soon I was to discover that there was neither any training nor any programme for training in the AnSI. The terms of contract which a trainee had to sign to receive the so-called advanced training were rather harsh. After two years of training, a trainee was expected to serve the AnSI for five years, failing which a trainee was expected to return all the stipend he had received. The stipend was a princely sum of Rs.150/- per month. To be in such shoes was certainly frustrating.

A few weeks after Bose joined the AnSI as its director, I approached him and told him that I was wasting my time in the AnSI and therefore I requested him to help me to find a way to get me released from the AnSI if there was no worthwhile programme for the trainees. He listened to me carefully and without making any comment he said that he would get back to me in a few days' time.

Next day itself I got a call from him. He handed over two books to me and asked me to review them and let him have the reviews in a week's time. He straightaway told me that he was giving those two books to test my abilities. I was crestfallen. I had no previous experience of reviewing books and cursed myself for inviting trouble. He had put me to the hardest test I could imagine at that time. I felt it was his response to my straight and uninhibited approach to him. I thought maybe I had offended him. Anyway I went back and worked as hard as I could and produced the two reviews and submitted to him stealthily. I was almost delirious with delight when I saw them published in *Man in India*. For the modern man seeing one's name in print is an experience difficult to describe.

Reflecting back on the events of that week, I think I must have made some favourable impression on him, as thereafter he would often call me to his room and talk to me about his views on various topics and relate his experiences of fieldwork.

I being the junior most staff of the AnSI, getting a call from the director of a highly bureaucratized and hierarchical set-up did raise some eyebrows and created some ripples among my senior colleagues. At the time peons used to carry messages from the director. Not to over dramatise the scenario, I recall with some amusement that the director's peon then carried some aura around him. He was a marked person. He was always smartly dressed in his uniform; his gait and body language reflected that whenever he passed through corridors he better be noticed. If he stood in front of your table and said 'Sahab ne apko salaam bola hai', meaning that the boss has asked for him, there would be a silent commotion in the room. People around would take it for granted that the person who had been asked for either was going for some dressing down or was going to be given some important task. Bose's predecessors had created such an aura and in any case that was the culture in government offices though it was more than 12 years since the country had become independent. Bose was the first dhoti clad director which was not the expected dress for a 'dignified officer' and much less of a director. During the British period he would not have been eligible for a government job as he was imprisoned twice. Thus calling one of the junior most staff to his room Bose was breaking another norm of the hierarchical organization.

I think he was deliberately breaking the rules and in the process was sending messages that bureaucratic, hierarchic ways had no place in a research organization. In a way he was shaking the organization to change its ways. I clearly recall that he often used to say that he wanted to activate the AnSI particularly the younger people and set them up as models. He wanted people to go to the field irrespective of their status in the AnSI. In the beginning he said that he would seek those who were willing to work and leave the 'officers' to chalk out their own course of work in the changed circumstances. Coming back to those early days, when he called me most of the time it was he who talked. I listened to him with awe and admiration. Through his discourses I began to realize that that range of his intellectual reach was extraordinarily wide and penetrating. He could easily switch over from a discussion on Lenin, Kropotkin and Gandhi to his works on the Juangs or temple architecture. His articulation was flawless, smooth and I began to realize that he had a mission.

### **Emphasis on Observations**

He began to teach me the value of observation in the field of anthropology. I now realize that he was setting an agenda for me and also preparing me for the first major research project he wanted to launch in the AnSI. Often he would bowl me out by asking me, as I thought then, irrelevant questions. For example, he would ask me to tell him how many buttons there were in the shirt I was wearing. Some other day he would say that I had been sitting in his room for more than an hour and I must have noticed that there were some chairs in his room. Then he would proceed to ask me to tell him as to how many chairs there were in his room. I started becoming alert to these questions in his presence but I found he could always find out something which I had not noticed. In the beginning this type of questions irritated me. I wanted to scream at him and say that I was not interested in buttons, chairs and numbers of steps in staircases, I wanted to do social and cultural anthropology.

But out of sheer respect that I had developed for him, I could not express my irritation. Slowly the message he was trying to convey started getting into my head. I realized that doing anthropology was a full time job. Anthropology is an extremely difficult subject for the simple reason that it aims to study fellow human beings. It requires that the anthropologist develop a fine balance between subjectivity and objectivity. This balance can be acquired by training. Training demands that an anthropologist has to be ever alert. His sense organs should be sharpened enough to pick up the mildest of signals. One of the important tools of anthropological research is observation. Observation does not mean merely seeing. Seeing does not mean that things have been appropriately registered in the mind. For registering these in a scientific way it is absolutely necessary that the context in which a phenomenon is occurring is adequately noted and quantified to the extent it is possible. That was what Bose was trying to teach me. He derived inspiration for observation by reading Conan Dolye's series on Sherlock Holmes. Sinha has repeatedly observed that Bose was obsessed in underlining the scientific basis of the discipline of anthropology.

Bose had a number of stories to tell in order to emphasise that the ability to observe and analyse is cultivated. His pet story was about a master craftsman who lived in Orissa. This craftsman was an illiterate person but could repair many complicated machines by his skill of observation. People would bring to him things even like guns, cameras, etc., to repair. One day Bose himself ran into a problem. He had borrowed somebody's suitcase, of which he had lost the keys. The duplicates were inside the suitcase. Bose did not want to break the suitcase open. He took it to the craftsman who carefully examined the suitcase and brought out his hammer and a small nail. Bose nervously cautioned him not to damage the suitcase.

He told him politely that the suitcase did not belong to him. The craftsman did not pay any attention to what Bose told him. His entire attention was focused on the job at hand. He just put the nail at the root of its hinges on the back of the suitcase and with gentle hammerings he removed the hinges and the suitcase was opened.

There was yet another story which Bose was very fond of relating. He went into a forest along with an illiterate forest guide. On one occasion while going through the forest the guide held him back and pointed towards imprints of a tiger on a grassy spot in front of them. Observing the imprint the guide told him that the tiger had passed that way about half-an-hour ago. Obviously Bose was intrigued by the estimate of time which the guide had made. The guide asked Bose to concentrate on the grass where the imprint had been made. He asked him to notice the depressed grass which was slowly rising. He said that the degree to which the grass had risen should have taken about half-an-hour's time. This is what Bose called a good example of scientific observation. He wanted his research scholars to develop that skill. He repeatedly pointed out that from doing basic scientific research one does not necessarily need sophisticated scientific instruments. He would illustrate this point by giving the example of the famous biologist J.B.S. Haldane and his wife who has settled in Orissa. They had conducted some very important researches with very simple scientific tools. Both of them were personal friends of Bose.

### Material trait survey

The first major project which he initiated when Bose became the director of the Anthropological Survey of India in 1959 was the study of the distribution of material traits. S.K.Ganguly and myself were asked to do a pilot survey for

this project in sixteen contiguous districts of Madhya Pradesh (Jabalpur division) and Maharashtra (Vidharba division) under the supervision of Dr. S.C.Sinha who was then Officer-in-Charge of the Central India Regional Office at Nagpur. Before starting fieldwork Sinha had prepared us thoroughly for it. Sinha had then just returned from USA and had already done intensive fieldwork in Manbhum. While I was doing fieldwork (May-June 1959) in Vidharba, Bose came to Nagpur a couple of times to discuss the progress of the pilot project. In other words he was so much intensively involved in that project that the peak of summer in Central India could not hold him back in Calcutta. Interactions with Bose during that period were invaluable. He was brilliant and one could discover that not only overall design of the project at hand was clear in his mind but also what research would follow after it. These interactions helped me to understand the academic value of the work which we had just begun. Till then I had not fully understood how baskets, pottery, ploughs, husking implements and bullock carts would help me to understand the society and culture of India which was the ultimate objective.

Out of sheer naiveté, I asked him several times that the procedure for selecting a village for our study was not adequately spelled out in the guideline prepared for the study of material traits. He would dispose of my question by saying select any medium size, multicaste village, slightly away from the urban centre. I thought that was not enough and he was not paying much attention to the question of representativeness of the village. It was much later that I was able to appreciate his deep understanding of village India. In a study where only one village was to be studied in a district consisting of hundred of villages, not much could have been claimed anyway for the selection of a village. But more than that Bose had travelled extensively

and he knew that broad contours of variations of material traits would not be missed by a careful observer. He often told us 'while travelling by train or bus keep your eyes and ears open, do not bury yourself in reading novels and travel criss-cross, up and down and note down the cultural variations'.<sup>2</sup>

The result of the pilot survey was presented before the advisory committee of the Anthropological Survey of India to seek its approval to launch the project for the entire country. With Bose piloting the proposal indeed there was no difficulty in obtaining the approval of the advisory committee. Though some members privately voiced that the idea of material trait survey was outdated and so on. Perhaps they could not understand the vision and concerns of Bose. For Bose it was basic and relatively simple task first to be followed by other projects of complex nature. His focus was on understanding the reality of the complex and diverse civilization of India. Also his concern was to train a team of young scholars who were properly oriented and sensitized to the issues and whose feet were firmly planted in the field and on Indian soil.

Sixteen young scholars were selected for conducting the all India material trait survey. Before sending the various members to the field, each research investigator was asked to study a village in Nagpur division, under the supervision of Sinha so that the objectives of the project and the implications of the research schedule become clear to them. After that each person was allotted a specific area to conduct fieldwork. Data

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Once again, the administrators in the Anthropological Survey of India were finding it difficult to allow this kind of travelling by research staff. For them, the rule was that a researcher should finish work in one area and then proceed further. He should not return back. Bose, however would not accept their bureaucratic arguments. He made it clear to them that in a research organization research needs would get all priority.

were collected from 311 out of 322 districts of India at that time, during 1959-61. The data for each material trait was then transferred on cards. Up to this stage each research worker was concerned with the area where he or she had done the field investigation. Then each investigator was given all the cards from all the regions on a particular trait and was asked to write an essay on that trait for the entire country. This was indeed a master strategy on the part of Bose to transform the frame of reference from region to all India level for each research worker. Each had to devise meaningful tools to classify the data at an all India level. Many of the criteria had to be redefined in the context of the enlarged field. Thus was born the first book on material traits entitled 'Peasant life in India: A study in Indian Unity and Diversity' (1961) with a simple and precise introduction by Bose. In this brief introduction Bose also outlined the gist of his design for further studies. The fieldwork was completed on March 1961 and the book was out in August 1961, which in itself was a record by any standards. Sinha outlining the organization of the material trait survey wrote 'Besides providing a significant picture of cultural distribution of material level, one of the aims of the survey was to train up a group of young anthropologists in accurate observation of cultural facts, in viewing the same facts in significant relationship with the natural environment, language and ethnic affiliation and to learn how to make a significant classification of the same facts in terms of structure and function' (1961). Thus twin objectives of the project namely mapping the whole of India on the level of some concrete cultural facts and the training of the personnel were aptly achieved.

# Grand research design

After the successful completion of the material trait survey Bose unfolded his grand plan for research in the AnSI.<sup>3</sup> It is systematically outlined by Sinha (1973:8) who was not only close to him but kept a good record of Bose's ideas. Under this imaginative programme besides the study of material traits, study of important ancient crafts such as pottery and metal craft, social organization of crafts and certain castes, nomads, temples and centers of religious training and the process of modernization and change were undertaken by the researchers inspired by Bose. In other words the contours of the Indian reality were being approached from different vantage points. This way Bose had built up a team of research workers who took forward his ideas.

Bose wrote profusely and also gave numerous talks, generating ideas and voicing his concerns. He was not only a thinker but a concerned builder. Sinha writes 'although Professor Bose readily admits his intellectual indebtedness to a wide range of scholars and writers he also insists that his main learning in the social sciences has been through involvement in the problems of regeneration of a tired ancient society groaning under the 'shackles of colonial rule (1973:4). He enthused a generation of young scholars by setting

an example and left an indelible mark on them. He was consciously breaking the rules set by the erstwhile colonial regimes and setting new agenda for researchers in Independent India.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Here I am mainly referring to the research programmes in Social and Cultural Anthropology. He had initiated programmes of research in Physical Anthropology, Human Ecology, Linguistics and other allied disciplines too.

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# N.K.Bose's Thought on Development with Special Emphasis on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes

Ajit Kr. Danda

I

At the outset let me express my sincere gratitude to the authorities of the Anthropological Survey of India, particularly to its Director Dr. R.K.Bhattacharya, for the kind invitation extended to me to participate in the Birth Centenary Programme of Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, one of the leading anthropologists India has ever produced, a nationalist social worker, and an outstanding exponent of the Gandhian philosophy. I felt very much overwhelmed by being asked to contribute a paper to the programme on "N.K.Bose's thought on development with special emphasis on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes". This is a rare honour and I profusely thank the authorities of the Anthropological Survey of India for their generosity. Permit me also to add that I found the assignment quite formidable, especially in view of the sensitivity of the topic. The authorities of the Survey, nevertheless, were very considerate to narrow down the scope of the proposed paper to Prof. Bose's thought on development and that too, with particular reference to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Frankly speaking, ordinarily this should not have been at all a difficult job. But those who are familiar with the extent of the horizon within which Prof. Bose operated, would appreciate that it would be rather extremely presumptuous, if not naïve, to comment anything on his thought without adequate comprehension of the wave length to which his level of cognition was tuned, particularly in the perspective of the given theme. Perhaps this would have been basically wrong, if an attempt had been made to comment on his thought by mere academic analysis of his observation on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes without necessarily relating them to his personal socio-political background. As is well known, because of the insufficiency of such comprehensive approach to decipher his thoughts, Prof. Bose was often misunderstood and several of the national level leaders even from among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, for the welfare of whom he dedicated most of his professional career and energy, expressed doubts whether Prof. Bose was undoubtedly sympathetic towards the Weaker Sections, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Nevertheless, those who had the opportunity of being associated with him or of watching him closely, would corroborate that nothing could be further from truth than harbouring such allegations. It would again be a grave error if I put any serious blame on the shoulder of the leaders of the Weaker Sections for such a pass. For those who are not sufficiently familiar with Prof. Bose's vision as well as mission of life are of course vulnerable to such pitfalls. As multifaceted a personality he was, for relatively lesser mortals it is but natural to miss many of their dimensions and to observe only a few among them quite carefully though, and then to assume that as such represents the totality of his ideas and thought, thus ignoring many other facets which could have left indelible imprints on his life, works and thoughts. You will forgive my impertinence for raising this issue here, apparently an inappropriate occasion, when we have assembled here to pay our respectful homage to one of the greatest academicians India has so far produced. Since I also made a similar misjudgment on at least one of his otherwise outstanding academic

contributions, I thought I would crave your indulgence to utilize this opportunity to atone for the inadequacy, whatsoever that might have been on my part. Kindly permit me to make a small digression here to highlight the point of issue at least to some extent.

In 1965 Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose was on a lecture tour to the various universities in the United States of America and at the Cornell University delivered his speech on Indian unity in diversity sharing some information of the Material Trait Survey carried out under his overall guidance. When he started his speech, in his very characteristic style, he instantly got into the details of field observations relegating the theoretical framework, if any, to the backyard. So much was the weight of his field data that several among the audience including myself felt that he was proceeding towards making a commentary on the contributions of Alfred L Kroeber and Clark Wissler highlighting how to bring about further improvements in the interpretation of such data. He, of course, did that but with a difference. Beside putting across a passing reference to their contributions, he refrained from making any critical appraisal of their works. Instead, he went on discussing the nature of Indian unity, apparently on hypothetical considerations. As a result, those who expected Prof. Bose to relate his observations with the existing knowledge in the discipline of anthropology felt somewhat disappointed. Let me be honest to confess that the sharp turn of his argument from the discussion on manifestations of diversities, including tendencies of local differentiation to the cognitive description of a pyramidal structure of Indian unity was not that conspicuous to many of us. Besides, our basic mistake was to regard him as out and out an anthropologist. But the fact that while developing his

argument Prof. Bose himself underwent a metamorphosis from an anthropologist to a social historian, went above our heads. This shift was not deliberate, but rather inherent since the manifestations were different facets of the same personality structure. For due comprehension of the thoughts of Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, one therefore has to be extremely cautious not to lose sight of the perspectives of his argument, which even otherwise is highly important.

#### II

Besides the problem associated with shifting perspectives there are several other factors on count of which, otherwise very lucid writings of Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose deserve close attention. The kind of anthropology that he pursued, as is evident, had a character of its own. Somewhat controversial though, his contributions were very discrete. Despite his all out involvement in defining the nature and scope of anthropology, it is primarily due to his very unorthodox approach to the discipline and his persistent refusal to go for conventional definitions and concepts, that Prof. Bose remains mostly a partly understood or sometimes misunderstood academician, both to his admirers as well as to his adversaries. His protagonists often looked upon him with a sense of awe, not necessarily suspecting any unexpected rebuff, but because of a kind of reverential wonder, failing to fathom the magnitude as well as depth of his commitment to the discipline. The range of his interest as well as involvement is by any standard extraordinary. Those who considered his approach to the science of anthropology as a matter to make an issue, too, had high appreciation for his extremely valuable intensive field observations. They, nevertheless, tried to pinpoint Prof. Bose's

persistent refusal to keep himself abreast of the current concerns of his contemporary professional colleagues, acknowledging at the same time the fact that among them he was perhaps the most articulate as well as capable of undertaking such an exercise. As it appears, what went by and large unnoticed by many of his followers as well as his critics, was the fact that Prof. Bose had already chosen a distinctive style of projecting the socio-cultural realities, other than that what was ordinarily done by concerned scholars. In other words, he appears to have uncompromisingly refused to follow the overused or sometimes abused paths of conventional anthropology and instead, desired that the bulk of research activities be oriented towards understanding and helping Indian society to overcome the pressing problems, leaving high and dry the exercise of theorization.

He, nevertheless, had a preoccupation of mind that remained all through his professional life, a position from where he refused to move even an inch. From the research methodological point of view, this very approach had to be controversial and was sometimes taken as the manifest expression of his commitment to the society-specific nature of anthropology denying value-free status to the science of anthropology. This very stand invited criticism even from those among his admirers.

Prof. Bose, an extraordinarily prolific writer, carefully avoided using technical jargons in all his essays and was particularly languid in going for any major cerebral exercise toward conceptualization or providing precise definitions. Besides his early attempt to define culture almost at the very beginning of his professional career (1929), and his

conceptualization of a pyramidal structure of Indian society that came rather late in his writing (1961), he is not much known for his interest or involvement in any serious cognitive exercise. I refer to this fact here to indicate that such exercises were very much within his capability as well as his command which otherwise could have been quite rewarding too, but were treated by him with a sort of indifference. Despite his awareness that field observations assume especially significant meanings in the light of relevant theories, Prof. Bose scarcely went beyond providing the mere skeletal framework for any conceptual exercise.

#### Ш

Anthropologists by and large divide themselves on whether to effect a preference for strategy of considering a predetermined theory and then accordingly gather data in order to test validity of the theory or to involve themselves into an exercise of field survey for collection of information on the basis of which systematic analysis of certain patterns could be deciphered. Broadly speaking, Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose, whose commitment to the cause of science of anthropology was by any standard enviable but who preferred to be identified as a mere social historian or social worker, belonged to the second category only tacitly and that too, with a distinction. For him, the foremost obligation as a scientist was to challenge, on the basis of intensive investigations, the existing notions of the concerned academic discipline, thereby ushering progress of the discipline. This, in other words, suggests manifest loyalty to the discipline by disapproving the existing trend of thoughts. This is a unique position indeed and no wonder that such an academic strategy is certain to be looked into with a mixed

feeling of admiration and awe. To be fair to Prof. Bose, it must be added here that the above strategy did not in any way reflect his personal idiosyncrasy, as it did speak of his concern and due appreciation for an early comprehension of immediate socio-cultural phenomena. It, therefore, seems only natural that besides being skeptical about the contemporary trend of uncritical attachment to what passes on for science, Prof. Bose had to take upon himself the task of establishing the principles of science on the basis of his personal intensive observations. He, nevertheless, was cautious not to allow excessive professionalism to stand between a scientist and his audience. According to him, social and intellectual contexts are relatively more important than any excessive preoccupation with concepts and definitions. His preference, therefore, was to have as much fairly well spelt out operational strategies as feasible, through application of which he could effectively communicate at equal ease with fellow professionals as well as members of the public. Prof. Bose was aware that such a strategy was certain to dilute the research methodological rigour as prescribed by the academic discipline but he was manifestly undeterred in his choice of option. It will be extra casual, if not sloven, to call Prof. Bose rather capricious. He certainly deserves a better placement and in order to gauge the depth of his vision it will be necessary to pay some attention to his life and works.

#### IV

There is a general notion that scientific arguments as such are based on a value-free premise. Some maintain a fine distinction between physical and social sciences assigning relatively greater objectivity to the former though, none ever attributed total subjectivity even to social sciences. Nevertheless, all sciences

everywhere are found to influence development in the immediate society in which the sciences are being pursued. Despite his apparent indifference about it, Prof. N.K.Bose's commitment to scientific objectivity is undoubtedly beyond question. Still, the kind of anthropology professed and practised by him would at times appear mutually inconsistent, unless we pay close attention to the socio-political background in which Prof. Bose grew up and pursued his academic activities.

Nirmal Kumar Bose was born in a relatively stable ambience of north Calcutta on January 22, 1901. Some members of his mother's patrilineage had reformist Brahmo leaning, though, his mother, after becoming a widow in 1917, led a very rigid orthodox life. Young Nirmal Kumar seems to have had inherited certain characteristics like regard for strict discipline, thrift, as well as openness of mind from both his mother's side as well his father's side. His inclination to make sacrifices for his country became manifest at a very early age when he was only about ten years old. One can perhaps safely speculate that the British decision to divide Bengal in 1905 as well as to shift the National Capital from Calcutta to New Delhi in 1911 and the consequent developments of socio-political nature that followed immediately thereafter might have left a deep impression in the mind of young Nirmal Kumar. Under this circumstance, it is only likely that he would tend to cultivate deep nationalistic spirit and prepare himself for making any sacrifice for his motherland; no matter whatsoever he would be required to face for this reason. The socio-economic transformation of India, which occupied the uppermost position in his agenda of action, bears adequate reflections of this background.

When a student of Intermediate Science of the Scottish Church College, Calcutta, Nirmal Kumar Bose came in contact with some firebrand terrorists. Although the agony of living under British subjugation made him feel humiliated and prompted him to dedicate his might for the cause of national emancipation, the apparent heroism of terrorists repelled him. Instead, he preferred to go all out for social welfare activities, a spirit that pushed him toward Gandhian approach and survived in him all through his life.

As a student of Geology Honours in the Presidency College of Calcutta, Nirmal Kumar Bose developed fascination for fieldwork. This quality, too, persisted in him all through his professional career. Even as the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, he preferred examination of actual ground realities through field visits to hypothetical reflections by saddled being in the comfort of his exalted office. So much over-powering was this involvement that it made him a lifelong wanderer or paribrajaka. In fact, the opportunity to be with the common people was particularly attractive to him and on various pleas he always loved to rush to be with them. When in the M.Sc. class in Geology of the Presidency College (a government institution) Calcutta, Nirmal Kumar Bose joined the Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Gandhi and disassociated himself from the government institution. After two years, through persuasion of and counseling by Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, in 1921 he joined the M.Sc. course in anthropology. It was during his post-graduate student days that he tried to outline his thoughts, which in due course matured as his philosophy of life. A reference to the following excerpts could be of some relevance here:

Social rules will have to be changed and broken when they exert their control over the inner freedom of life. What is the utility of sticking to a fixed path arresting all movements of life?

... social emancipation should go hand in hand with political emancipation, and ultimately, man's emancipation depends upon a consciousness of brotherhood of all men beyond the boundaries of nations (as quoted in Sinha: 1986)

#### V

What Nirmal Kumar Bose expressed through stray notes as a student came out in a crystallized form through his publication *Cultural Anthropology* (1929):

The social structure, which we have inherited from the past was built in answer to the challenge of certain problems of life, many of which are now out of action... A determined effort should, therefore, be made to adapt our cultural heritage to present day needs and requirements.

This, in an indirect way though, throws some light about his notion of development. In historical development, according to him, human nature is the chief factor. Bose felt that in this respect social science had rather an extremely important scope in regenerating hope in the minds of men. Nevertheless, whatsoever might have been the scope, for initiating any action programme, primacy must be given to the ideas before undertaking the programme, lest action or initiative tends to degenerate into dead routine.

With reference to economic development, particularly in the context of India, Nirmal Kumar Bose observed that the major thrust had to lie in breaking the age-old divide between the manual workers and non-manual professionals. He, too, insisted on voluntary and deliberate cultivation of material simplicity which could be sustained autonomously outside the threshold of colonially-sponsored industrial economy. Here he obviously made a strong plea for initiating a breakthrough, but without necessarily disturbing the apparent harmony of the concerned society and in his own distinctive way he welcomed change without succumbing to the pressure of colonial forces. Needless to mention here that he perhaps had been reflecting on the Gandhian strategy for bringing about economic reform.

Basic building blocks of rural social order received great importance in Prof. Bose's notion of social reconstruction. He was unambiguous to state that to begin with, the first lessons of social reconstruction would have to be learnt from the rural people who constituted the decisive majority of the country and also had their points of strength. With their adaptive social material and ideational skill, the rural people, including the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes could sustain their system where non-competitive interdependence and cultural autonomy of the castes, sub-castes, or communities were retained. In fact, in the Indian context, the higher orders of sociopolitical integration at the level of principalities, regions, states, and larger arena covered by the far-flung network of pilgrim

centers were built upon the basic building blocks of rural social order. But what was most pertinent in his argument was that unless the activities for social reconstruction were focused on a perspective of building up a new order of economic coordination, such efforts were not likely to have the desired impact. In other words, what Prof. Bose envisaged was that any transformational endeavour was bound to seek support from the inherent tendency toward differentiation or factionalism which in turn was required to be coordinated at a relatively higher plain.

#### VI

When Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose became the Commissioner for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with the obligation to submit Annual Reports to the President of India, which in turn were required to be tabled in the Parliament; at the very outset, he had decided to delineate the task for himself and accordingly worked out the strategy in such a way that the basic recommendations reports not only became rich in information but also became educative to politicians, administrators, and academicians alike. As a dedicated nationalist social thinker, deeply sympathetic to the . cause of the weakest among the weak, Prof. Bose's primary concern was to see how far the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes would be in a position to mobilize themselves to protect their own interests and to participate in the larger process of building an egalitarian national social order. According to him, this was very crucial as no developmental initiatives could have lasting impact unless it had an inbuilt self-sustaining capability. Despite the immensely sensitive nature of the same, Prof. Bose never hesitated to persuade the educated elites from among the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes that they, instead of looking at their problems from an extremely sectarian and narrow angle, cultivate the habit of looking at facts in the relatively larger context of developing cooperative interdependence with other groups at the local, regional, and national levels. He was very clear in his mind that formation of a middle class among the Weaker Sections notwithstanding a homogenizing effect, could be a remedial measure for amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For certain segments of such populations, there was even relatively greater need for protection. Since the capability for absorbing benefits differed from people to people or from community to community, it was important that such people themselves could come forward to remove the edges of disparity and separate programmes could be drawn up for different classes among the Weaker Sections. The uninhibited mind of the true academician, had no difficulty even to overstep the limits of his immediate job and the concern for overall development of the society prompted Prof. Bose to prescribe:

An exclusive concern for the underprivileged of one particular community may encourage the unwary to develop a defensive attitude which may eventually lead to a feeling of exclusiveness and even conflict with the rest. If it is one's purpose to bring about an end of exploitation altogether, the very best course would be to work for all those who suffer from similar disabilities, no matter to what caste or tribe they belong (1967-68).

For the development of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a comprehensive pogramme for economic transformation was considered essential by Prof. Bose. He felt that the growth of parochial divisive forces could be averted

only if India could work out in detail the conceptual framework for a total socialist economic transformation, which was likely to take adequate note of Indian social reality. He was convinced that such transformation had to come about through mobilization of the political will of the people, generated at the grassroot-level. He was, therefore, candid to suggest that if we could agree to depend upon whatsoever resources we could have under our command, it would certainly be better to promote ameliorative changes through spread of education than doling out benefits. He further added that the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes should be helped to modernize themselves largely through their own efforts. According to him, only through such positive approach toward self-development sustained by an inbuilt mechanism that a society could get rid of the pressing inequalities which got accumulated over generations.

#### VII

Those who pursue academic professions, the vast majority among them tend to claim, and reasonably so, expertise in some discipline or the other; but a few are those who follow their profession with any deep sense of conviction. Still fewer are those who not only bear conviction but also have the courage to stand by the same under all circumstances. Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose belonged to such a rare generation of scholars who not only stood by what he believed to be true, he in fact was relentlessly uncompromising regarding his loyalty to uprightness, ignoring altogether what might have been the consequences of such a stand. Thus developmental initiatives as such and particularly those made for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes did not impress him at all. For him, the courses of change reigned supreme, no matter whether the same originated out of the inbuilt mechanism of spontaneity or of

any induced programme. They did not necessarily mean development. For him development was not a matter to be perceived conceptually; it had to be appreciated through careful observation of nature and character of structural transformation. This, according to him, was the most crucial factor. On the plea of development, what became apparent among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, did not qualify to be designated as development as neither did it indicate structural transformation nor had it any potential to initiate a major breakthrough.

He was no doubt careful to observe the emergence of a middle class among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, representation of whom by and large was considered necessary for initiating any revolutionary change, but the ground realities appeared to him blatantly inadequate, particularly in view of the apparent inclination of such people toward subscription to the inbuilt structural arrangements, which instead of ushering in major changes, reinforced existing socio-cultural order.

Prof. Bose was aware that emergence of a middle class among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, from the perspectives of the larger society had a homogenizing effect. But this work care only of a small fraction of the Weaker Sections, resulting in a sort of segmentation of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. To his understanding this indicated negative action. What he obviously looked forward to was a kind of positive action, when the elites from among the Weaker Sections, particularly the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, would assume the responsibility of bringing about structural transformation and initiate required steps toward realization of this goal.

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# Nirmal Kumar Bose : Director Anthropological Survey of India

Jayanta Sarkar & R.K. Bhattacharya

January 29, 1959, the day when Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose assumed charge as the Director, Department of Anthropology, Calcutta, later renamed as the Anthropological Survey of India (An.S.I.) was the beginning of a turning phase in the research programmes of the An.S.I. On the recommendations of the Union Public Service Commission, Bose of the Department of Geography, University of Calcutta had been appointed by the President of India as the Director, An.S.I. on contract, initially for a period of three years. Bose, as per the usual administrative procedure, joined the An.S.I. retaining his lien in the University, initially for a period of one year, which was extended for another year. However, after completion of two years of his services in the An.S.I., he did not ask for further extension. Instead, he informed the Registrar, University of Calcutta through a letter dated 10.1.61,

".... as I feel it would be wrong on my part to ask for any further continuance, I shall feel thankful if the University of Calcutta is pleased to accept my resignation from the post of Reader in Geography with effect from 29.1.1961" (An.S.I. Archive file Sl. No. 1957).

The letter demonstrate an exception to the usual practice in a government department where an officer, especially when he/she is on contract service for a specific period of time. It is our experience, that a government servant normally desires to retain his/her lien with the parent department so long he/she is not permanently absorbed in the borrowing department. The language used by Bose in his letter to the Registrar spoke about his very transparent approach. It is for this exceptional quality such as this that he became an idol to the scholars of the Anthropological Survey of India.

## **Turning phase:**

Prior to Bose, the research programmes of the An.S.I. were primarily centered around anthropological research among the tribes of India, particularly those who then had been inhabiting the comparatively, accessibility wise, difficult geographical areas of India in the north-east, the Western Ghats of the south, Andaman & Nicobar islands and the western Himalayas. Except the studies on 'Social Tension among the Refugees from Eastern Pakistan'in the 1950s in an urban milieu then a very important contemporary issue, no research outside the studies on the tribes, perhaps deserves special mention. The research programmes were basically organized in accordance with the traditional anthropological field investigation at a microlevel, occasionally confined within a small geographical area. The researchers from various disciplines had been involved in prolonged field investigation, in phases. Basically the approach of these researches was 'holistic'.

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose came to the Survey with the vision he had inculcated on the basis of the insight that he developed through his very close and intimate interaction with the people of rural parts of India, as a devoted social worker, paribrajak (wanderer), archaeologist, geographer, anthropologist, a scholar of Indian civilization and also as a

close associate of Mahatma Gandhi. A scholar with such multiple qualities expanded the horizon of the research activities of the researchers of the Survey with a view, primarily to bringing into relief, the diversities in biological and cultural characters of Indian population, which in reality is the strength of Indian civilization. This he desired to achieve on the basis of the anthropological information generated at the grass-root level. Immediately after assuming the charge of the Director, Bose called a meeting of the researchers and other staff in Calcutta and made his mind known to all of them regarding the research programmes to be initiated in the Survey. While appreciating the research programmes, then in progress, Bose stated that an organization like the Survey should have longterm research programmes to reveal the various dimensions of the people of our country from anthropological perspectives. The proposals for the preparation of future programmes of this Survey placed before the Central Advisory Board in August, 1959, projected this long-term perspective in the field of research that Bose had in his mind. We would like to reproduce some of his proposals in some details. While introducing the proposals Bose had argued,

"We have now to think of a plan about future work of the Department of Anthropology [subsequently named as Anthropological Survey of India] for the coming 10 or 15 years. ... Personally it is my belief that the problems taken up for investigation by the Department of Anthropology, should be of academic significance besides being of practical national importance. Secondly, the problems should be of such a nature that investigation can be carried out anywhere in India and gradually expanded both in space and in depth of analysis so that eventually all of them can be knit together into one common pattern." (An.S.I., Archive file, Sl.No. 2905). After placing this argument he had proposed research

Anthropology and Ethnography, Linguistics, Prehistory and Somatology, Demography and Human Biology and Psychology. The proposal on the social/cultural anthropology reproduced below clearly delineates the programmes to be taken up within ten to fifteen years in phases so as to get a comprehensive picture of the people of India.

The problems under Social Anthropology and Ethnography normally encompass projects which are to be interdependent and interlinked and need to be taken up in phases to get a clear picture on social/cultural issues relating to the people of diverse cultures. The first proposal states "India is divided into more than a dozen linguistic regions, but we have no information about the geographical extent of different cultural zones. These, as far as preliminary information is available, are not coincident with language zones" (An.S.I., Archive File, Sl. No. 2905). In order to generate grass-root level information on such different zones, the material culture trait survey, a rapid survey of nearly 322 districts of India was proposed. The material traits like food habits, means of transport, ancient art and crafts like pottery, metalwork, oil-press etc. were to be studied. The survey, which depended upon simple direct observation and in many cases, photo records was limited to rural areas alone. When information was gradually gathered together, distribution maps were prepared on the basis for correlation with language map or map showing the distribution of physical types and their migration. Once this project was completed, the next step as visualized by Bose was to study "non-tangible items of culture like marriage custom, family organization, clan structure. Still later, deeper problems connected with religious notions and ideas and their relations with the broad structure of Hinduism can be taken up for investigation. ... This will throw important light upon the integration of Indian civilisation and serve as a supplement to the picture resulting [from] the previous observations" (ibid).

"... there is another dimension in which investigation has to be conducted and carried on simultaneously with the above observation: (a) What are the changes taking place in each of the following sections in recent times: (i) Jhum to plains cultivation; (ii) subsistence economy to commercial agriculture in villages; (iii) villages being transferred into towns; (iv) growth of towns. (b) How have the changes affected different classes of the population? (c) How are changes in the productive system related to social change? (d) How far are newly introduced ideas responsible for change of other kinds? In other words, what is the origin and history of the recent changes? For this purpose, Community Development Projects and the influence of schools in tribal areas may be subjected to observation" (ibid).

In the area of linguistic study, Bose was very much aware about the limitation of the Survey in terms of initiating a very large project. He proposed,

"It should not be the object of the Department of Anthropology to try to prepare a full linguistic survey of India, but there are certain sectors in regard to language which are of importance to this Department. Firstly, there are areas where tribal languages are spoken and they are influenced from all sides by neighbouring languages. Significant areas in different portions of

India can be taken up for investigation, and with our own team we could help to prepare maps of this phenomenon. This may give rise to observations useful in education as well as in problems of a fundamental nature in linguistics. The linguistics section should undertake to record languages spoken by small groups, which are in process of disappearance. ... Where possible, the phenomenon of difference in dialect correlated with social differentiation will also have to be undertaken" (ibid).

In the field of Physical Anthropology, Bose had in his mind the importance of taking up research schemes related to Demography and Human Biology. In his proposal for the future programmes it was stated,

"... the most important work today which ought to be undertaken by the Department of Anthropology, seems to be a study of the Indian population. How are different sections of the populations reproducing themselves? changes are observable in the reproductive life of tribal, rural and urban population belonging to different occupations? ... This enquiry may open up lines of further investigation in genetics, and also in regard to the correlation of environmental factors like nutrition or disease etc. or reproduction. ... In India, we might postpone the study of inheritance of diseases for the time being. Such work is all right for University departments where fundamental investigation is carried on but perhaps not so much for a Government institution like the present one. The major diseases in India

today is, in all probability, due to poverty and ignorance. When these obvious causes have been removed, firstly, by raising the standard of life, and secondly, by education and sanitary and hygienic practices and diseases due to them substantially eliminated, then we can think of investigation in diseases which are of a hereditary character. Europe has largely done away with diseases of the first kind and the current emphasis on heredity of diseases is therefore justifiable. In India, we are far from the position and research should be oriented to local circumstances." (An.S.I., Archive file, Sl.No. 2905).

Similarly, Bose proposed projects under the discipline of Psychology keeping in mind that the department has very little scope to take up research in the area of social psychology on a large scale. He observed that correlation between culture and personality is a field where enquiry might be instituted.

It may not perhaps be a wild guess to say that Bose had already a design in his mind, with regard to his work plan as the Head of the Survey even before he actually took charge of this organization. Within a month of his assuming the charge of Director, he could launch the most talked about and first ever all India project initiated on *The Material Culture Trait Survey* (MCTS) and sent the researchers for a pilot survey before actually executing the project. The pilot survey was initiated in the month of March, 1959 from the Central Regional Centre, Nagpur, then named as the Nagpur Sub-station. The researchers had been sent for conducting fieldwork from October, 1959. This all India project was formally placed before the Central

Advisory Board of this Survey held in August, 1959 after a gap of five months from the initiation of the pilot survey. The proposal in the form of memorandum No.2 entitled 'Mapping of Culture Zones in India' made it clear that this research scheme for the study of distribution of the selected traits in the rural areas of India was already underway in the Survey. The memorandum states,

"The objectives of the scheme are to draw up maps of cultural zones and sub-zones through the distribution of selected traits. This will provide a picture comparable with the map of linguistic distribution in India. Later on, more detailed investigation of cultural processes can be taken up. It is our aim to cover all the 322 districts [i.e., total number of districts in those days] in roughly 24 months of time; of which half shall be spent in field investigation and half in preparing the report. In order to complete this work, the present strength of the Department is not adequate. It is therefore resolved that the Department of Anthropology be accorded approval for conducting researches on the distribution of selected material traits in the rural areas of India. The Department may also be authorized to recruit additional research personnel as may be required on a purely temporary basis for the completion of this scheme." (An.S.I., Archive file, Sl.No. 2905).

As the researchers of the Survey were not well acquainted with conducting research at an all India level, it was essential for Bose to take leadership in bringing together a few selected devoted researchers for successful implementation of the project.

## Departure in research methods:

The first All India survey undertaken by the An.S.I., in a way, was also a departure from the then existing tradition of conducting long-term regional or theme specific fieldwork as normally the anthropologists would like to undertake. Instead of prolonged fieldwork the researchers were sent to collect data on some selected material traits from each district of the country camping there for three to four days only. One would naturally think that in any all India project there should a detailed guideline/questionnaire or schedule etc. in order to collect information so as to maintain uniformity in the nature of queries and the data collected thereon. Bose, perhaps with his background of 'wanderer scholar' and keen observation power of the behaviour of human as member of society, did not think appropriate a pre-formulated closed approach for generating data for the project on the MCTS. It has been stated by Sinha that Bose invited the researchers involved in this project and explained to them the objectives of the project and what they were supposed to collect. He advised them to observe each and every object closely and draw sketches with a pencil in a note book. The result of such a discussion was so clear that without any detailed guideline or schedule, the researchers did not face any difficulties in generating the desired information. It may not be out of the way to mention here that this was possible because a researcher was sent to a particular area where he/she could directly converse in his/her mother tongue. (Sinha 1986: 68). In other words, a researcher was sent to conduct field investigation in an area where his/her language was spoken by the villagers. Within just two years 430 villages in 311 districts out of the then total 322 districts of India were covered and the result was published in 1961 in the form of a book titled 'Peasant life in India: a study in Indian Unity and

Diversity'. In case of the Anthropometric Survey (All India Anthropometric Survey of south zone and north zone). during the first stage 1,400 individuals belonging to 109 different castes/communities/tribes were measured in south India. Subsequently, in north India 46,789 adult male individuals, belonging to 195 social groups were measured. This work could be completed in south and north India with the help of 6 and 15 researchers respectively.

There was another departure of the treatment of field data that the researchers of the Survey witnessed immediately after completion of fieldwork on the MCTS. Instead of analyzing data by researchers who had actually collected the same, Bose adopted a method to put together the entire data at one place in the Head Office, Kolkata and get the same transferred to 9" x 5" cards. The reason of adopting such work plan is clearly spelt out by Bose in his address to the involved researchers. We would like to reproduce the address from the writings of Sinha (1986: 69) as under:

"You now forget your guarded possessions of the data. The data would now belong to all of you and to the nation. We shall entrust each of you, or in some cases two of you, to draw all India distribution maps of some specific material traits and prepare brief reports. This co-participation will develop an all India perspective and also a spirit of comradeship with co-workers in sharing data and ideas."

The very approach of sharing each other's data and ideas as a member of a composite unit of academicians, later on helped in developing a very healthy trend of discussing threadbare each other's findings and writings that, in a way, oriented the researchers to appreciate and accept any constructive criticism thus enhancing the quality of research. While people are becoming too individualistic in almost all spheres of life, such collective endeavour, when adopted brings some fresh ideas towards improvement in the quality of research, in particular, and enrichment of the discipline of anthropology in general.

# Pointing out Bose's speciality, Sinha wrote,

"Professor Bose always described his method as a "war strategy" which indicates his feeling of urgency about shaking up the prevailing lethargy and fear about facing the field situation with one's own observations rather than with pre-conceived notions. He was also particularly concerned with developing a spirit of cooperation among the young Indian scholars, who should be prepared to compare and discuss their field notes and ideas." (Sinha 1971:11-12).

## Other research projects:

Besides the two very important all India projects one each on the MCTS and AIAS (All India Anthropometric Survey), the various sections of this organization were actively engaged in many other projects of diverse nature. Bose was a source of constant inspiration to the researchers and as a result a number of studies could be taken up and eventually completed within the period of his tenure (January, 1959-1964) in the Survey. Some of the projects need special mention like (1) Anthropometric growth studies and radiological studies of skeletal maturity among the children in Sarsuna and Barisha,

24 Parganas, West Bengal; (2) Blood group and secretor factors studies of the Dakshin Rarhi Kayasthas of Barisha and Sarsuna, 24 Parganas, West Bengal; (3) Blood groups, ABH secretion, colour vision and middle phalangeal hair and sickle cell in two groups of Oriya; (4) Craneometric study on Cretan skulls; (5) Study on Rajghat skulls; (6) All India pottery survey; (7) Study on caste panchayats; (8) Correlation of Iron Culture of India with the broad-headed population of India; (9) A study on fertility of women in Calcutta; (10) Fertility study in Madras State; (11) Study on provincial stereotypes in the districts of Assam; (12) Study on temples of Puri and changing of power structure in rural Bishnupur; (13) Study of human skeletal remains of Harappa; (14) Study of industrialization on the tribal life of Chittaranjan; (15) Study of Hindu-Muslim tension in Murshidabad; (16) Inheritance among the War Khasis of Assam; (17) Bengalee dialect of Orissa; (18) Munda migration and settlement in West Bengal (Sundarban); (19) Demography and fertility in Maharashtra.

The Plan proposals mentioned earlier underlined the diverse interest of Bose in understanding the people of our country from multiple perspectives, essential to reveal the characteristics of Indian civilization. Bose thus not only had confined the research activities of the Survey in the rural areas of the country, but also initiated a study on the characteristics of a metropolitan city like Calcutta. Bose, with his background in Geography, completed this study with a handful of 12 researchers. The concept of 'pre-matured metropolitan city', a unique characteristic of cultural co-existence of the Indian civilisation was developed. All the eighty wards of the city were surveyed and information on distribution of religious and linguistic groups, their occupational specialization in different

wards, voluntary associations was generated. Cartography was extensively used in preparing land-use maps based on the assessment records of the Corporation of Calcutta. It was a rapid survey followed by the study of a number of old influential families in different wards. Bose's interest in the study of caste system in India is well-known. As Director of the An.S.I. under his leadership, a number of studies relating to caste system and organization of production in rural areas of this country was initiated. The studies on caste panchayats and pottery techniques in India unveiled the relation between occupation, caste and organization of production and made major contribution towards development of theories in social and cultural anthropology in India.

We would now focus on an area of his interest through which he desired to build up a group of researchers who would develop their intellection on the basis of anthropological fieldwork.

## Fellowship:

Prof. Nirmal Bose wished to build up the academic background of young students in the discipline by imparting training and guidance, both in fieldwork and report writing. The An.S.I., since its inception, had a programme to induct trainees and fellows who need not always be young scholars. The Survey had Fellowship Programme for foreign scholars too. But the idea of introducing fellowship in universities or recognized institutions by the An.S.I. was completely a new departure from the earlier practice. In the second and third Five Year Plans, it was proposed,

"... to establish 20 Fellowships in universities or recognized institutions to carry on work approved by it [An.S.I.]. The Fellows should be chosen by the universities or research institutions in consultation with the Director, Department of Anthropology and work under guides recommended by the relevant authorities. The quarterly reports of progress should be submitted through respective research guides to the Director, Department of Anthropology. The final result may be submitted for research degrees, or printed with the written permission of the Director, Department of Anthropology or some authority nominated by him. The tenure of Fellowship will be normally upto two years with a maximum extension of another year." (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 2905).

# Fellows as supervisor of research work:

Bose for the first time entrusted fieldwork to the newly inducted youths graduating from the universities along with a handful of other young researchers of the Survey. Bose, however, with his exceptional scientific outlook decided to see that these young researchers of the Survey got adequate orientation, training and supervision in advanced courses of research from experts in the discipline. For this purpose, he proposed to have specialists from outside the Survey as Fellows. In a letter to the Government of India, he placed the proposal to create four posts of Fellows who would supervise the work of STAs (Senior Technical Assistance) and would train the latter in advanced courses of research (An.S.I. Archive File, No. 1-D/VI/59-64, letter dated 21.4.1961 Sl.No. 3729). The proposal was also included in the third Five Year Plan of the Survey against the scheme Survey of Physical Characteristics.

That Bose was very much selective and choosy in inducting scholars in the Survey for a specific research project can be seen from the persons he had already in his mind. While impressing upon the Government of India about the needs of having well-qualified scholars as fellows, Bose stated,

"I would like to bring to the notice of the Government that at present four exceptionally qualified candidates are readily available who may be offered the Fellowship. In case they are not immediately offered the Fellowship, it is quite likely that they may find other openings and may not be available for the Department later. It is, therefore, requested that pending approval of the entire scheme by the Planning Commission, four Fellowships, at the rate of Rs.400/- may kindly be sanctioned immediately" (An.S.I.Archive File, No. 1-D/VI/59-64).

Bose also recommended names of four scholars to the Government of India, whom he had identified for award of Fellowship. The four scholars were:

- (i) Mrs. Zarina Ahmad, M.A. in Anthropology, London University, who was to be entrusted with work on social life of the Muslims in Uttar Pradesh.
- (ii) Shri Hossainur Rahaman, M.A., formerly Professor of History in Chandennagore Government College. He would work on the Hindu-Muslim socio-cultural relations in Bengal between 1707 to 1947.

- (iii) Shri Sudhir Chandra Panchbhai, M.Sc. in Psychology, who would be entrusted with work on inter-provincial stereotypes.
- (iv) Shri Ajit Kishore Roy, M.A. in Anthropology, was recommended for work in micro-evolution and also anthropometric work mainly in Orissa. In case of award of this Fellowship to Shri Roy, he would work under the direction of Prof. J.B.S. Haldane leaving his job with the Government of Orissa.

While recommending the names he was very particular to enquire about the scholars from other sources also, as can be seen from the following lines of his letter to the Government of India. The letter states,

"Accompanying this letter please find also the references which have been received about three of the candidates. The only candidate about whom there has been no reference is Shri Hossainur Rahaman, who was introduced to me by Dr. R.C. Mitra, D.Litt (etat, Paris), who holds a very high opinion about the capability of the candidate. Personally, I have had discussion with him about the kind of work which he is eager to undertake and I consider him to be a very suitable candidate for the Fellowship." (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 1271).

# Quality of leadership:

Success of a Director, as head of an organization to transform visions into actual implementation, largely depends

on his/her ability in identifying person(s) most suitable for execution of the ideas. In a research organization like the An.S.I, it is indeed difficult to identify person(s) who would excel both in research and administration. Bose, who had wonderful insight and understanding of human nature, could find such a scholar in Dr. Surajit Chandra Sinha, then heading the Substation at Nagpur as its Officer-in-Charge. Immediately after joining the Survey, Bose picked up Sinha as a coordinator of the first all India project undertaken by the Survey on the Material Culture Trait Survey (MCTS), a project through which as mentioned earlier Bose wanted to examine his already conceived idea of culture zones in India. Bose was equally concerned about choosing the right type of researchers most suitable for this kind of all India research project. In this respect he did not compromise with the then existing administrative procedures of recruitment of researchers in the Survey. After having the approval of the Central Advisory Board on the proposal to authorize the department to recruit additional research personnel, as would be required on a purely temporary basis for the completion of this scheme, he took up the matter of creation of posts of Senior Technical Assistant (STA) and recruitment in respect of the researchers with the Government of India. After long pursuasion the Ministry cleared the proposal and the Director was empowered to create the posts of STA for the MCTS within the sanctioned budget and to recruit them through a Selection Committee bypassing the Employment Exchange. Subsequently he also could create posts of STA for the all India project 'Anthropometric Survey in India'. (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No 1271).

Proposal to create posts in a Plan is very normal, but what is specific to these posts of STA is the mode of recruitment

that Bose had proposed to the Ministry. As in other Central Government organizations, it was a practice in this Survey to invite names of candidates, even for specialised scientific positions from the Employment Exchange. Bose was keen to recruit the most suitable researchers for undertaking anthropological research and in his opinion such persons with specialised qualification usually did not approach the Employment Exchange for registering their names. Bose wrote, "The net result is the non-receipt of the names of well qualified persons and such procedures do not provide desired young bright scholars appropriate for a research institution ..." We would like to place a few lines from his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs under which the Survey was then a subordinate office. Bose in a letter No. 6445 dated 5.7.1961 wrote,

"... It is also requested that the rules regarding the employment of the STA be relaxed in the present instance. In connection with the Culture Zone Survey, ... we approached different universities."

In the interest of perfection in research, Bose, therefore, urged the Ministry to allow the Director to receive direct recommendation from the university departments of anthropology of our country in respect to bright, intelligent, energetic and upcoming students who could be selected as researchers of the Survey through a Selection Committee. In order to have young scholars, Bose proposed to the Government of India to create 20 posts of STA for two research projects. He proposed,

"These posts will continue for two years. But the research workers will be taken for one year only in the

first instance, so that there may be an opportunity to weed out the unsuitable incumbents. Those found suitable may continue for two years. ... In view of the urgency of the matter, it is requested that the sanction to these posts may be given immediately." (An.S.I., Archive file, Sl.No. 455).

Bose's eagerness to pick the best possible researchers for the All India project can be understood from the correspondences, which he made with the heads of anthropology departments of various universities. While giving an introductory statement on the project, he requested the heads of the departments to recommend young scholars available in their departments. A part of such a letter is quoted here for highlighting his concern to get the best possible researchers.

Bose wrote to Prof. Ehrenfels, Head of the Department of Anthropology, University of Madras —-

"I shall be very thankful if you could please recommend two young men for a temporary job in the department. The scale of pay is Rs. 160-10-330. The basic salary of Rs.160/- roughly means about Rs. 240/- (including allowance). The candidate will be given second class TA & DA of about Rs.2/8. The appointment is in the first instance for six months from October,1959. It will then be extended for a year unless the candidate proves hopelessly inadequate. I don't think this will happen to the student you are recommending. The work will be carried on from the Nagpur Station of the Department of Anthropology, where the entire data will be processed. The student will have to appear for an

interview before a Committee at Nagpur at their own expenses and then set to work in the area of which they speak the language. I do hope that some of your bright young students will avail of this opportunity for gathering experience in research and also in respect of the condition of the rural India. ... Unfortunately the project will run only for a period of 1<sup>1</sup>/ years. But yet this is not too bad an opportunity for <sup>2</sup>a fresh student from a college" (An.S.I., Archive File, Sl. No. 455).

We would like to specifically mention that in this particular letter Bose wrote as postscript —-

"Prof. Aiyappan spoke to me about a girl student of yours. Would you recommend her?"

Similar letters had been sent to the other university departments of anthropology and at least in one case a similar request was made to the head of the department to recommend a particular candidate about whom information was available with the Department (An.S.I.). In a letter to Prof. L.P. Vidyarthi written by Shri B.C. Gohain on behalf of the Director, there was mention as postscript —-

"... a student of yours, name Shri B.N. Saraswati, belonging to Dharbhanga once came to me with a recommendation from you, if you think he is suitable, then I will pick him up; so please recommend one more name" (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 455).

As in the field of Cultural Anthropology an all India project in Physical Anthropology was launched under his

stewardship. The *All India Anthropometric Survey* (AIAS) envisaged recording the morphological variations/affinities of the people of our country. In order to implement this project, Bose had selected Shri H.K. Rakshit, a most appropriate and suitable researcher, then available, who could be entrusted with the work of coordination to a considerable extent. Rakshit, with his most systematic and methodical approach, proved himself to be one of the most promising researchers in the field of physical anthropology at that point of time.

We have already tried to highlight the quality of leadership of Bose and his approach to extend every guidance and supervision to young scholars through the most suitable researchers, then available in the Survey, like Dr. S.C. Sinha and Shri H.K. Rakshit. Considering the vastness and diverse field situations of our country, he had a plan to induct experienced scholars not only from the Survey but also from other institutions. A decision was taken by Bose that the all India project (MCTS) would be under the general and overall supervision of Dr. S.C. Sinha of then Nagpur Sub station, while specific supervision of this survey in West Bengal, Orissa and western India (Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh etc.) would be done by S/Shri N. Shyamchoudhury, Anthropologist; B. Mukherjee, Assistant Anthropologist (both from the Survey); N. Patnayak, Lecturer in Anthropology, Utkal University and Dr. S.D. Kaushic, Head of the Department of Geography, Hapur College, Uttar Pradesh respectively (letter to Dr.S.C. Sinha dated 21.9.1959, An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 455). Similarly scholars from universities had been identified and requested to guide and supervise the young researchers involved in the project 'Anthropometric Survey in India.' In this particular project Bose also preferred to involve young energetic

researchers from the university departments of anthropology. For that matter, as in the case of the project on Cultural Anthropology, he approached the Government to create 16 new posts STA in lieu of a few posts of higher grades.

The success of the research project of all India nature, thus launched by Bose as leader with the help of carefully and cautiously selected suitable coordinators and their supporting young promising researchers, was naturally a foregone conclusion. However, there cannot be two opinions that success of any research project that involves more than a dozen researchers primarily depends upon the function of the research personnel having diverse social, cultural and linguistic background as a single well-knit unit, especially in a Government organization which has to follow many bureaucratic straitjacketed norms and procedures. Bose, perhaps with his background as 'wanderer scholar' could easily set aside all such bureaucratic approach and interact with the young researchers as an exemplary leader of a team of scholars cutting across not only the barriers of bureaucracy but also age difference. Sinha while pointing the non-bureaucratic approach of Bose in the An.S.I. mentioned,

"Those who participated in the project will always remember the creative excitement of exploration of working together under the leadership of Prof. Bose who was all the time keeping our powder dry: the conventional divides of hierarchy and secrecy in communication which usually prevails in bureaucratic Government departments were spontaneously overcome." (Sinha 1986: 69).

Another important quality of Bose's leadership was his

absolute trust and faith in the researchers with whom he became associated more as philosopher and guide than the Director. It was for this trust and faith, a very junior researcher of the bureaucracy embedded hierarchy was sent to field for collecting required data independently breaking the earlier tradition of the An.S.I. This helped in building confidence of researcher's which in course of time made many of those young researchers well placed in the academic world.

#### **Administrative activities:**

We have discussed earlier how Bose had overcome the existing administrative procedures in the government set-up, in the context of selection of research personnel including research fellows. It is apparent that he was not a man to compromise with any rigid administrative regulation at the cost of research activities. After taking over charge of Director he decided to replace the Administrative Officer (A.O.) by an Officer on Special Duty (OSD). Accordingly, he informed the Government and obtained the approval to place one OSD to look after the job of A.O. Bose even informed the Ministry that the post of A.O. itself is not needed and resisted revival of the post of A.O. However, on insistence by the government the recruitment rule was so amended that candidates of the three Surveys, namely the Botanical Survey of India, Zoological Survey of India and the Archaeological Survey of India would be considered for a common seniority list for the post of A.O. (Thomas 1991: 36).

It was because of the rigid administrative norms and procedures that the Survey was facing difficulties in printing and publishing research results within a reasonable period. As per the then established norms all the publications of Central

Government organizations were to be printed and published through the Government of India press. Bose, after taking over charge of the Survey, took up the matter with the Ministry and convinced them of the urgency of relaxing such administrative norms in case of a research organization. Eventually the Survey was exempted from following the procedure and the Ministry issued a standing permission to get its publications printed from private presses, as a result of hich a number of publications could be brought out promptly (*ibid*, 1991 : 36).

An important administrative decision was taken by Bose with regard to transfer of the anthropological gallery, which was maintained by the An.S.I. in the Indian Museum. On the request of the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum, Bose agreed to transfer the gallery to the Indian Museum in principle. In this context, the then Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs invited opinion of Bose. (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 3778). In response to the Ministry's letter Bose informed,

"So far as the Anthropological Survey is concerned, we have made our own collection of roughly about 2000 specimens, a few are on the exhibit in the Anthropological Section of the Museum. I do not see why there should be any objection to the transfer of the entire Anthropological Gallery to the keeping of the Trustees. I [am] sure the Survey will be prepared to help by offering the services of some experts when that is called for. ... In principle, I agree that the Museum should administrate the galleries under its own authority."

The anthropological galleries were transferred to the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1964. (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 3778).

Another important decision was taken by Bose while furnishing replies to a Parliament question raised in the Lok Sabha with regard to some findings of old human skeletons lying at Roopkund in Garhwal. In September, 1955, a question regarding identification of some skeletal materials lying at Roopkund was raised as a starred question in the Lok Sabha. The Survey had conducted expedition to the Roopkund area in order to subsequently examine the skeletal remains and submitted a report on the findings. The issue continued to be raised occasionally in the Lok Sabha. In November, 1959 a question was raised to know "whether the scheme to protect Rupkund area from becoming the paradise of fossil hunters has been finalized". In reply to this question Bose furnished the Survey's observation. It may deserve special mention, since unlike normal procedures of noting and drafting as usually done by the subordinate staff, the whole reply was written by Bose himself. The reply runs as follows:

"We are not aware of any scheme for the preservation of Roopkund as a protected monument. There is, firstly no monument; secondly, remains of the bodies of pilgrims or of objects, which they carried, lie scattered over an ill defined area. They are exposed from time to time from under the snow. None of these objects is fossilized. The remains, as have been found out, are roughly about 600 years or so old; and do not represent any object of either great historical or anthropological interest. They have a place in local legend and history only. Considering the nature of the place and the historical interest which attaches to these remains, we do not see how they can be suitably protected." (An.S.I. Archive file, Sl.No. 32).

#### **Observation:**

Bose's exemplary qualities, his erudition and leadership nurtured many disciples some of whom assumed a high standing in the field of anthropology.

Departure in several areas relating to research programmes and methods adopted in generating grass-root level anthropological data on various sub-disciplines of anthropology, is a hallmark of the tenureship of Bose in the Survey. Most of these macrolevel studies had been conducted with the help of young scholars, fresh from universities, chosen cautiously in order to know the social/cultural linkages/biological characteristics of the people of India. Several anthropological techniques were applied like analysis of cultural elements of festivals, use of classical texts for deriving the ideal model, use of medieval literature for study of social movements, analysis of model social rules of kings, pilgrim centres, fairs and markets, analysis of land revenue records and study of economic history The primary concern of these studies under the of regions. scholastic guidance of Bose was to know the nature of unity with diversity in the structure of Indian civilisation and the problem of transferring an old civilisation into a revivalistic new nation. We would like to conclude our discussion quoting from Bose in order to understand his mind on this aspect. While inaugurating a symposium on the 'Research programmes on cultural anthropology and allied disciplines' of the An.S.I. on 5th September, 1967, Bose had underlined his approach in the field of anthropology very clearly.

> "Normally anthropologists may be quite satisfied if they can show the inter-relationship between the different strands of culture within a particular social structure, the economic elements in it, the ritual elements in it,

the belief elements in it and so on and on. They will show the logical conformity between these and also when one changes the others so that how all these are an integrated and inter-related structure. Now that is perfectly alright. But this is not enough. Under what political pressure and what economic atmosphere are they operating? Has that nothing to do with what is happening down below? I do believe that a tremendous amount of change always goes on at the lower level on account of certain things, which happen in the skies above. If that is so, then we have to take our study at two ranges. It does not mean that we should be satisfied merely with the study of the upper atmosphere. It also means that we have to study the lower atmosphere as well as things happening on the ground and it is only by interrelating them that we can make a meaningful study of Indian civilization". (Bose 1970: 4).

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P. Dash Sharma Gautam Kumar Bera Mira Roy

### Introduction

I (PDS) was informed by Dr. Jayanta Kumar Sarkar in the middle of June 2001 that Anthropological Survey of India had planned to organise a national seminar on 'Anthropology of Nirmal Kumar Bose' as a tribute to the erudite scholar and proposed to bring out his versatile activities in a special volume covering his contribution in the field of anthropology, human geography, editorial work, administration, and as a Gandhian social worker.

Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose was suffering from cancer during the last one and half years of his life of seventy-one years. In the words of Dr. Surajit Sinha, "Those who had the privilege of coming close to him then would testify how heroically he ignored his unbearable sufferings and continued to guide the activities of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and Asiatic Society. Unto the last date of his consciousness he performed his responsibilities as the Editor of Man in India, his most favourite occupation during his last two decades" (Sinha 1973).

I was very much delighted when I received the letter from the Anthropological Survey of India asking me to contribute an essay on "N.K.Bose as Editor of Man in India". I considered it a great honour and privilege extended to me, giving me an opportunity for writing on Professor N.K.Bose whom I personally met only five times, thrice at Delhi, once at Kolkata at his residence, and only once at Ranchi at the office of Man in India. Just about two months' earlier to his last breath, I received a postcard from him asking me to meet him "when I visit Calcutta next". I did visit 37a Bose Para lane, but that was too late, three days after his sad demise.

Meeting and talking with him and listening to a great orator, his experiences, anecdotes, comments on anthropologists (who were very senior to me), alone and for hours, is something one can realize only when one is conversing with him. His affection towards me urged him to slice off some of his precious time for me, a debt which I can never repay. As this is no place for memories, I will straightaway take up my assigned task of presenting Professor N.K.Bose as the editor of Man in India. This great task of writing on N.K.Bose was certainly not possible for me to perform alone so the Anthropological Survey of India suggested to me to involve Miss Mira Roy, chief executive of the journal Man in India who is the youngest daughter (now over eighty years of age) of late Sarat Chandra Roy, the founder editor of the journal Man in India established in 1921. So we formed a team to develop this essay on Professor N.K.Bose; while Miss Mira Roy recollected and assembled the memories which were in pieces of her association with Professor N.K.Bose for more than fifty long years as a family friend and well wisher of Roy's family; Mr. Gautom Kumar Bera culled information about N.K.Bose from the library of the Anthropological Survey of India at Kolkata and from the Man in India office at Ranchi. Thus we gradually developed an account on N.K.Bose as editor of Man in India.

# Early years at Ranchi

Though Nirmal Kumar Bose was born at Calcutta

(January 22, 1901) he had his formal education at a school in Patna and also for some years at the Zila School of Ranchi. During the British raj when Bihar and Orissa got separated from Bengal in 1912, even in that period during Bose's school days, Ranchi which is predominantly a tribal area had a special attraction for the Bengalees for its serene undulating forest clad environment. Bose's maternal uncle and his relatives were at Ranchi and the uncle had a business centre at Ranchi as a timber merchant. As Bose's relatives from the maternal side were in Ranchi so Bose from his early childhood was a frequent visitor to Ranchi from Patna where his father was a Civil Surgeon. Later his parents moved to Ranchi where his father was again posted as a Civil Surgeon. They had their house in the heart of the Ranchi city (near the main market) which is now the Gujarat Hotel after changing many hands. The father of Nirmal Kumar Bose and Sarat Chandra Roy were friends as they were staying at Ranchi and their houses were not far off being near the main road, so Nirmal Kumar Bose had an intimate acquaintance with the family of S.C.Roy right from his boyhood days.

Nirmal Kumar Bose's father, a Civil Surgeon at Patna, and later at Ranchi, finally settled down at Puri and at that time young Bose was preparing himself for a career as a researcher in geology. The master craftsmanship of Orissan architecture fascinated Bose extremely, so much so that he started giving lectures to the visitors at Puri temples. It is here in Puri that young Bose came in contact with Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee the then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta. The meeting finally tilted Bose towards anthropology from temple architecture of Puri at the initiative and persuasion of the renowned Vice-Chancellor who asked Bose to join as a M.Sc. student in the new Department of Anthropology at Calcutta.

Nirmal Kumar Bose frequently visited the house of Sarat Chandra Roy at Ranchi (who served the newly started department of anthropology in 1921 as a visiting lecturer and for a few years from time to time) when he was a post-graduate student of anthropology at the University of Calcutta, and later as a researcher in anthropology for which he sought guidance from S.C. Roy. Nirmal Kumar Bose passed M.Sc. examination in anthropology in 1925 with a brilliant record. Virtually, Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose received initiation in anthropological investigations from Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy right from his childhood days whenever he visited Ranchi.

# Roy and Bose

Sarat Chandra Roy and Nirmal Kumar Bose reflect the traditional Hindu guru-shishya parampara. S.C.Roy was a great source of inspiration to many of his students who were devoted to research. Roy spent much of his time, energy and money on whom he felt that there was a spirit of research. In an article by R.M.Sarkar (1991 pp.4-5) there is one photograph of a field team, captioned as "S.C. Roy leading the Field Work Team from the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University in 1923". In the photograph we find Rai Bahadur Prof. A. Iyer, S.C.Roy and D.N.Majumdar along with many other students of that time. Nirmal Kumar Bose was not in this batch. It is evident from the photograph that S.C.Roy was a research guide to the students of anthropology of the Calcutta University who were conducting fieldwork as course curriculum. Three students of S.C.Roy who received international recognition for their contribution in the formative stage of anthropology in India were D.N.Majumdar, S.S.Sarkar and N.K.Bose who received primary training in anthropology from Roy, apart from others. S.C.Roy

accompanied D.N.Majumdar during his fieldwork in Kolhan region (Singhbhum) to acquaint him with the Ho tribe and to train him in anthropological field investigations. Roy also guided S.S.Sarkar to develop the monograph on the Maler in spite of his multifarious preoccupations as a lawyer. Roy took pains to go through the works of his students critically and at the same time managed to write copiously on a variety of anthropological topics.

Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose was junior to Professor D.N.Majumdar in the field of anthropology. There was always some sort of competition between Majumdar and Bose for academics and for remaining close to Roy to get favours from their revered teacher. When Majumdar left for Lucknow to take up a new appointment at the University, Bose filled the void and remained with the aging Sarat Chandra Roy and assisted him in every possible way till Roy departed from this mortal world on 30th April 1942. Nirmal Kumar Bose wrote in 1971 (Man in India, 51: p.266) on S.C.Roy, "... he (Roy) paid homage to the Functional School by his confession to the present writer (Nirmal Kumar Bose) a few months before he passed away that if he were given the chance of living his life over again, he would disregard all the ethnographic accounts which he had written in the past. Instead, he would bury himself in a single village or a small region, and study in microscopic detail how the life of the community was built up as well as its culture. This desire to engage in a new adventure of intensive, microscopic study was proof of his superb intellectual resilience."

This was a tribute of an ailing student towards his teacher at the fag end of his life.

#### Man in India: The Journal

The year 1921 brought a special favour to S.C.Roy who received many academic honours and distinctions in this year. It was in the beginning of this year that Roy published the quarterly journal *Man in India* exclusively devoted to anthropological and related archaeological studies in India with articles from scholars like William Crook, T.C.Hodson. W.H.R. Rivers, K.P. Chattopadhyay, Hiralal and many others. S.C.Roy was also elected as a member of the Bihar Legislative Council in the year 1921. In the same year he was elected Sectional President of Anthropology and Ethnography section of the Indian Science Congress Association (Sarkar 1991).

Sarat Chandra Roy, the foundar editor of the journal Man in India, edited the journal single-handed even during the late phase of his life, nearly exhausted due to age, but continued editing occasionally with the assistance of his second son Ramesh Chandra Roy, until he departed from this mortal world on the 30th of April 1942. After the death of S.C.Roy the editorial responsibility was taken up in unison by three eminent scholars, namely Ramesh Chandra Roy, W.G. Archer and Verrier Elwin. The latter two scholars are well-known to the students of anthropology in India, While Ramesh Chandra Roy with a postgraduate degree in anthropology from the Calcutta University was a practising lawyer and was the co-author with Sarat Chandra Roy of the book entitled The Kharias, published in two volumes in the year 1937. The journal Man In India was being printed at the Shakti Press, Hari Ghosh Street, Calcutta, right from its inception till 1987.

The following is the chronological order of the scholars who had devoted their time and energy editing the journal as honorary editors after the death of Sarat Chandra Roy.

# Man in India

Years	Editors
May 1942 to December 1948	Ramesh Chandra Roy, W.G.Archer and Verrier Elwin
January 1949 to December 1950	Ramesh Chandra Roy, D.N. Majumdar and K.P. Chattopadhyay
January 1951 to March 1952	Ramesh Chandra Roy, D.N.Majumdar, K.P.Chattopadhyay and N.K.Bose
April 1952 to December 1954	Ramesh Chandra Roy, D.N. Majumdar and N.K.Bose
January 1955 to August 1958	Bhabesh Chandra Roy* and N.K. Bose (*Yongest son of S.C.Roy died on 28th August 1958)
September 1958 to 1972,	N.K.Bose
1973 to 1976	Surajit Chandra Sinha

1977 to 1979

Surajit Chandra

Sinha and H.K.

Rakshit (Assistant Editor)

1980 to 1987

Sinha and Baidyanath

Surajit Chandra

Saraswati

(Managing Editor)

1988 to 1998

R.M.Sarkar and

Kanchan Roy

(Assistant Editor)

1999 to 2000

R.M.Sarkar, Kanchan

Roy (Assistant Editor)

and Prodyot

Gangopadhyay

(Associate Editor)

2001 to Present

R.M.Sarkar, Kanchan

Roy (Assistant Editor)

Prodyot Gangopadhyay

(Associate Editor) and

Abhik Ghosh

(Associate Editor)

Thus it is evident from the chronological order of presentation of the list of editors of *Man in India* that Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose was associated with the journal from the year 1951 to August 1958 as a member of the editorial team. Professor D.N. Majumdar was associated with the *Man in India* journal as a member of the editorial board from 1949 to 1954. Later Professor N.K.Bose joined the team in the year 1951.

However, for some reason or the other a rift developed between the two great anthropologists during the year 1953/54 and the two were not seeing eye to eye on matters related to editorial policies and programmes of the journal. Probably it is because of this situation at that time that we do not find the names of D.N.Majumdar and Ramesh Chandra Roy in the next issues of Man in India from the year 1955 onwards. When Ramesh Chandra Roy resigned, Bhabesh Chandra Roy continued as member of the editorial team till he died in the year 1958. After the death of Bhabesh Chandra Roy, youngest son of S.C.Roy, Professor Bose had the sole responsibility of editing Man in India for 14 long years from September 1958 to 1972 till he died. The first issue of the volume 53 (1973), which was to be published in January 1973, was actually edited by Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose and was also proof corrected by him weeks before he died in the morning of October 15, 1972, to be eventually published under the editorship of Dr. Surajit Chandra Sinha. Thus he did what he could for Man in India even lying at the doorstep of death.

Professor Bose served the Calcutta University from 1937 to 1959 as Assistant Lecturer in Pre-historic Archaeology and later on as lecturer and Reader in the Department of Human Geography. Thus along with editorial responsibility of the journal he was a university teacher at Kolkata (the then Calcutta) and it is during this period that he contributed immensely in the field of anthropology through his original research work. In the year 1959 Professor N.K.Bose was invited by the Government of India to join the Anthropological Survey of India as its Director at Calcutta. He held the post very effectively for five years till 1964. He was also appointed Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes at New Delhi by the Government of India for three years during 1967 to 1970.

Though Professor N.K.Bose was greatly involved in research, teaching and administrative responsibilities of the Union Government, nevertheless, through his untiring efforts and stupendous work for fourteen years the journal got wider international recognition academically, and his management skill also helped in increasing the sale of the journal which crossed more than 900 copies of the volume in a year during his time.

# Nirmal Kumar Bose as Editor

The contribution of Nirmal Kumar Bose as an editor of a journal can be better understood and appreciated if we discuss about the authors and their articles in some of the early volumes of Man in India edited by S.C.Roy. The status of any journal is gauged by its contributors. During the very early phase of Man in India's publication it was the British anthropologists and very eminent Indian anthropologists who were contributing articles primarily in ethnological studies and social anthropology. The other basic branches of anthropology, like physical anthropology and archaeological studies though were represented, but were very limited in number in each volume as compared to social anthropology articles. This is very natural and expected as this reflects the subject interest of the editor and the nature of investigations which were being conducted during that period. The names of some of the very distinguished scholars who contributed their articles in the journal are as follows:

1921:Volume I

Mostly British scholars like William Crook, T.C. Hodson and W.H.R. Rivers; besides P.O. Bodding, an European and among the Indian scholars the articles

were contributed by K.P.Chattopadhyay, Head of the Anthropology Department, Calcutta University, Rai Bahadur S.C.Roy and Rai Bahadur Hira Lal.

1922: Volume 2

British scholars: William Crook, R.B. Dixon, Edward Gait, J.Hornell, J.H.Hutton; Indian scholars: S.C.Roy, Hira Lal, L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer and a few others.

1923: Volume 3

J.P.Mills, and among Indian scholars we find – L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Hira Lal, D.N.Majumdar, Sarat Chandra Mitra, Radhakamal Mukherjee, and a few others

1924: Volume 4

J.H.Hutton, W.D. Fitch, L.A. Camiade, F.J. Richards and S.T. Moses.

Among Indian scholars we find articles contributed by L.K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, G.S. Ghurye, Hira Lal, D.N.Majumdar, and K.P.Mitra.

1925: Volume 5

T.C. Hodson, S.T. Moses; and Indian scholars were G.S. Ghurye, Hira Lal, D.N.Majumdar and S.C. Mitra.

The impact of the Second World War might have affected the contributions from the British scholars, as we find that from 1938 onwards fewer articles from British and other European scholars were contributed to the journal.

1938: Volume 18

E.H. Hankin. Indian scholars: J.K.Bose, B.S.Guha, D.N.Majumdar and S.C.Roy.

1939: Volume 19

T.N. Hodson. Indian scholars: Bhupendra Nath Dutta, D.N.Majumdar, and a few others.

1940: Volume 20

W.G. Archer, Verrier Elwin, Walter Ruben and W. Koppers.Indian scholars; Bhupendra Nath Dutta and others.

1941: Volume 21

Verrier Elwin, Dorothea Chaplin. Indian scholars: Haran Chandra Chakladar, Sarat Chandra Mitra, and others.

1942: Volume 22

M.Archer, W.G.Archer, Verrier Elwin, Stephen Fuchs and Dorothea Chaplin. Indian scholars who contributed articles are Bhabesh Chandra Dutta, Haran Chandra Chakladar, and D.N.Majumdar.

All the articles of the volume 22 (1942) were edited by S.C.Roy before he died on 30<sup>th</sup> April 1942.

Now let us see the important contributors who had already established themselves as scholars of national and international repute who enriched the journal by their contributions during the editorship of Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose.

1951: Volume 31

M.N.Basu, N.K.Bose, S.S.Sarkar, H.C.Chakladar and a few others.

1952: Volume 32

M.N.Basu, N.K.Bose, K.P.Chattopadhyay, S.R.Das, S.C.Dube, T.C.Roy Chowdhury and others.

1953: Volume 33

M.N.Basu, Suniti Chattopadhyay, K.P.Chattopadhyay, Kanti Pakrasi, S.S.Sarkar, S.C.Sinha and Tulika Sen.

1954: Volume 34

M.N.Basu, P.K.Bhowmick, Usha Deka, N.K.Bose, D.N.Majumdar, Gautam Shankar Roy, Sachchidananda, D.K.Sen, Dharani Sen, Nityananda Pattanayak and others.

1955: Volume 35

B.M.Das, P.K.Bhowmick, P.C.Dutta, Kanti Pakrasi, Sachin Roy, S.S.Sarkar, Dharani Sen, S.C.Sinha, and L.P.Vidyarthi.

1956: Volume 36

Foreign scholars: Robins Burling, Robert Redfield, Milton Singer, Indian scholars: P.K.Bhowmick, N.K.Bose, A.R.Banerjee, B.M.Das, Kanti Pakrasi, G.S.Roy, S.S.Sarkar, Dharani Sen and Tulika Sen.

1957: Volume 37

N.K.Bose, P.K.Bhowmick, B.M.Das, B.K.Roy Burman, S.C.Sinha, and Dharani Sen.

1958: Volume 38

N.K.Bose, S.S.Sarkar, Dharani Sen, S.C.Sen and others.

1959: Volume 39

American scholars: Kathleen Gough, McKim Marriott, Milton Singer, Martin Orans, James Silverberj. Indian

scholars: B.M.Das, A.C.Bhagabati, M.C.Goswami, P.K.Bhowmick, S.S.Sarkar, L.P.Vidyarthi, M.N.Srinivas, and Sachchidananda.

1960: Volume 40

American and European scholars: Robins Burling, Scarlett Epstein. Indian scholars: P.K.Bhowmick, N.K.Bose, B.M.Das, G.S.Ray, Dharani Sen, D.P.Sinha, and L.P.Vidyarthi.

1961: Volume 41

N.K.Bose, Pabitra Gupta, H.K.Rakshit and others.

1962: Volume 42

N.K.Bose, Annie Besant, Dharani Sen, S.C.Sinha.

1963: Volume 43

N.K.Bose, H.K.Rakshit, Baidyanath Saraswati and a few others.

1964: Volume 44

N.K.Bose, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sachchidananda, and others.

1965: Volume 45

N.K.Behura, N.K.Bose, B.M.Das, Uma Guha and others American scholar: Edward Jay.

1966: Volume 46

N.K.Bose, Andre Beteille, H.K.Rakshit, B.K.Roy Burman, B.M.Das and others.

1967: Volume 47

N.K.Bose, Kanti Pakrasi and others.

1968: Volume 48

N.K.Bose. A.K.Danda, S.S.Sarkar, and D.P.Sinha.

1969: Volume 49

N.K.Bose, K.C.Malhotra, Sachchidananda, S.C.Sinha and a few others.

1970: Volume 50

N.K.Bose, A.K.Danda, S.N.Ratha, Gopala Sarana and others.

1971: Volume 51

N.K.Bose, P.K.Mishra, H.K.Rakshit and others.

1972: Volume 52

Foreign scholars: John Adams, Stephen Fuchs. Indian scholars: N.K.Bose, Andre Beteille, L.P. Vidyarthi and others.

Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose always encouraged and invited scholars to contribute scholarly articles related to human science in this prestigious journal whether they were senior to him or were students who had taken initiation in the field of research in anthropology and allied disciplines. In almost all the volumes of the journal we find articles covering the major sub-disciplines of anthropology like social anthropology, physical anthropology, and prehistoric archaeology. A brief review of the nature of articles published in the journal will reflect his acumen as a distinguished editor of the oldest journal in anthropology published in India.

Prior to 1958 when the *Man in India* journal was being published under the joint editorship of Ramesh Chandra Roy, D.N.Majumdar, N.K.Bose and later by Bhabesh Chandra Roy and Nirmal Kumar Bose, we find it was mainly the British scholars who contributed articles in this journal along with the eminent Indian scholars of that period. The articles published during the years between 1952 and 1958 under joint editorship were based on both empirical findings as well as theoretical approaches ranging from cultural anthropology, prehistoric archaeology, physical anthropology and Indology.

When the sole editorial responsibility was of Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose during the fourteen years from September 1958 to 1972 we find a new trend in selecting and inviting the articles for Man in India, that is, a shift in the editorial policy during the 1960s, as evident from the names of the foreign scholars who contributed in the journal. The names suggest that the foreign scholars were mainly American scholars, when the interest of the British scholars contributing to Man in India gradually waned during the late 1950s. The contribution of American scholars to Man in India must be due to the effect of Bose's visit to the American Universities as a visiting scholar during 1957 to 1958. In the early 1060s Man in India is marked by the advent of publications on finer issues of the human society contributed by the American scholars namely Kathleen Gough, McKim Marriott, Martin Orans, Milton Singer, Robert Redfield and others. However, this phase also witnessed important publications on caste system, role of castes, and also on the tribes and tribal welfare by many Indian scholars including the editor himself. A number of articles on urban issues and peasant society were also published during this period which reflect the pattern and network of social institutions and organisational behaviour. Apart from these the journal also covered articles of traditional types covering the major sub-disciplines of anthropology.

Bera (2001:94) observes that if one looks into the trend of his method of selection of articles one may be confronted with a bizarre sequence of topics of interest. But what is noticeable is that this apparent random method was followed for attracting a wider readership encompassing the varied interests of a larger world of anthropologists, administrators and persons having interest in social science. It is noticeable that Bose also had althrough laid special emphasis on two very important aspects of anthropology like kinship system and caste system. Both of these aspects encircle round institutionalised patterns and depend mainly on the factors of cohesiveness and corporateness of society. This has both a traditional outlook and modern orientation. A deeper review of articles may reveal a mere fascinating world of this erudite scholar as on editor. Hence, his approach may not be viewed as a bizarre method or a method based on random stereotyped functioning.

# Bose: The Book Reviewer

Bera (ibid) notes that in principle *Man in India* never had the tradition of the section called "Book Review". It was Nirmal Kumar Bose who brought in the column "Book Review" in September 1952. Prior to this a reader had as the only access to glance through the column "Notices of Books" if he was interested to know about new publications. The tradition, which began with Bose, is still maintained as a legacy.

During the editorship of *Man in India* Prof. Bose had reviewed about 212 books out of a total of 928 books reviewed between 1951 and 1972 in the journal by different scholars. The books reviewed by him include a wide range of topics like social and cultural anthropology, physical anthropology,

prehistoric archaeology, politics, philosophy, Indology, and other social science subjects.

In social and cultural anthropology he had reviewed books written by eminent scholars like E.E. Evans Pritchard, Robert H. Lowie, Verrier Elwin, A.R. Radcliffe Brown, U.R. Ehrenfels, G.S. Ghurye, J.H. Hutton, Raymond Firth, Felix M. Keesing, K.P. Chattopadhyay, S.F. Nadel, A.L. Epstein, Robert Redfield, M.N.Basu, Bernard S. Cohn, P.K.Bhowmick, N. Dutta Majumdar, C.C. Sanyal, Ramkrishna Mukherjee, A. Aiyappan, F.G. Bailey, Leslie A. White, H.L. Shapiro, Iravati Karve, L.P. Vidyarthi, Fredrick Barth, Hilda Kuper, Chie Nakane, Sachin Roy, Louis Dumont, David G. Mandelbaum, E.T. Dalton, F.L.K. Hsu, Adrian C. Mayer, and many others.

He also reviewed books on physical anthropology written by eminent scholars like S.S. Sarkar, Kanti Pakrasi and others.

In prehistoric archaeology he reviewed books written by Stuart Piggot, V. Gordon Childe, Abbe H. Breuil, William Howells, D.A.E. Garrod, and a few others.

Books written in the field of Indology were also reviewed by him and those were written by scholars like Nihar Ranjan Roy, Swami Sankarananda, Amulya Chandra Sen, Jitendra Nath Banerjee and others.

He had also reviewed books written by M.K.Gandhi, V.V. Giri, B.R. Ambedkar and of few others which are of political nature.

Incidentally, his last review in *Man in India* was the book, *In the Sylvan Shadows*, authored by Abdus Sattar, and the book was reviewed while he was on his death bed. (Bera 2001:95).

Thus the foregoing account on Bose as an editor and as a book reviewer reflects the editorial craftsmanship of Nirmal Kumar Bose which showed his varied interest as an editor on the subjects related to anthropology. It is his dedication and love towards the journal *Man in India* and the closeness with S.C.Roy's family that gave him the strength to work tirelessly for fourteen long years single-handed to edit the journal and to bring it to the attention of the international scholars which helped the journal *Man in India* to cross the sale record of about 900 copies in a year during his period.

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# Bengali Writings of Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose

# Sailesh Kumar Bandyopadhyay

I had the privilege of coming in personal contact with Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose in connection with Bengali writing, way back, in early 1948. I have narrated that story of my first encounter with that giant amongst intellectuals and one of the top promoters of Gandhian thoughts through literature - both in Bengali and in English, elsewhere and hence I may not repeat the same here. I had approached him for certifying the publication of my Bengali translation of a collection of Mahatma's articles, since his original publisher wanted to be assured about the authenticity of the translation from some reputed Bengali writer. When that was obtained after his listening to my Bengali translation at random, he gave me a very valuable piece of advice about good Bengali writing, particularly translations from English. He said that the best way to know as to whether any writer has done his job well was to have the views of someone, preferably a lady, who did not know much of English. If such a reader appreciates the translation and assures that it is understable, then only the Bengali writer passes the test.

There was another dimension of his language and choice of words. Though he wrote both in standard literary and colloquial Bengali, his scientific bend of mind would debar him from using flowery language or bombastic words. For, he was a communicator in the real sense of the term and he aimed at reaching the last man in the intellectual field. And, therefore, his preference for simple words and simpler style. His Bengali

writings were always to the point, precise and polished. Probably like his mentor in the socio-political field, he would not use even a single word that was not necessary to express his thoughts.

Having said that as an introduction, I would first dwell upon his various works, which, probably have not been published so far in his name exclusively. Here remains a vast field for any research scholar, who is interested in the field of Bengali writings of Prof. Bose.

He was a regular writer in several important magazines and periodicals of his time. Most important amongst them were : Sonibarer Chithi; Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Journal, (the responsibility of editing which he discharged for long); Basudhara literary magazine (he was editor of this magazine also for a couple of years); Visha Bharati Patrika, published by that University; Harijan Patrika (the Bengali version of Gandhiji's Harijan weekly published from Kolkata); Sangathan, the magazine to promote Gandhi's ideals and actions of social work founded by that great soul Sachindrnath Mitra, who dedicated his life to the process of quenching communal riots that engulfed the city as a part of Mahatma Gandhi's mission in 1947 and, quite possible, in several other leading Bengali magazines of those days. Most of them might have been published, but there is a possibility of quite a few of them being left out. Again, he was one of the beacon lights in the editorial board of the Bengali encyclopedia Bharat Kosh, brought out in five volumes, by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He wrote in those volumes on several items and I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to him once again on this occasion, that he himself edited the entries of several other contributors to the said volumes, including that of the present author.

He was also actively associated with the Congress Sahitya Sangh, the famous organisation of those days devoted to the cause of promoting nationalism and Gandhian ideals to the people through literature and all other art forms, including performing arts. Here again is a field of research for the scholars interested in his Bengali works. (He was co-author along with two other eminent Gandhians of *Gandhi Manas* (the Mini of Mahatma Gandhi), actually a collection of lectures published by the Ravindra Bharati University of Kolkata.)

Several articles of his were also published in the *Bhoodan Yajna Patrika* in Bengali, which probably has not been included in any one of his Bengali books.

Yet another unexplored field regarding his Bengali writings in his letters to various persons in connection with several matters of public interest. The present author had the privilege of receiving many such letters, brief, crisp and always to the point. They were like arrows shot by an expert archer to hit straight at the correspondent's head and heart. This communication with people with the pen remained uninterrupted almost to his last days. By and large, he would not use any stationery, other than what was available in post offices or spend more than what was absolutely essential in postage. If his purpose could be served by a postcard, he wouldn't use a letterhead or an envelope. That again spoke a lot about his thinking and habits, which were the reflections of his mind and values in the fields or socio-political economy.

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Having presented a glimpse of the general style of his Bengali writings, I would now dwell on several of his Bengali books, published in his name. My esteemed friend for many years and one of his famous students, Dr. Surajit Sinha, in his pioneering work – the brief biography of Prof. Bose, has appended a bibliography of his books. Though I have tried to supplement him, I am sure the few additions I have made are also equally incomplete. Here again lies and unexplored field for any serious scholar of Bengali literature.

I would now try to concentrate on his Bengali writings, published in book form. The earliest two books *Oriya Shilpashastra* (Art of Orissa) and *Konaraker Vivaran* (Description of Konarak) are about his first love – the temple architecture of Orissa. *Bharater Grammya Jivan* (Rural Life of India) and a later publication named *Navin* O *Prachin* (New and Old) are collections of essays on our society and people.

Biallisher Bangla (Bengal of 1942) is basically a gazetter - geographical, socio-economic and cultural description of all the important places of all the five divisions of pre-partition (1947) Bengal, with road connections, irrigation facilities, description of soil, agriculture and crop patterns, rural, cottage and small scale industries etc. etc. For quite some time he was teaching in the department of geography of the University of Calcutta and he has used his knowledge of geography, including commercial geography for preparing a detailed account of the then rural and urban Bengal. As was his natural style of writing, he was both precise, to the point and at the same time very brief in presenting the varied and enormous facts of the entire Bengal scenario of those days. Being an objective observer and chronicler, he would not even ignore such facts as strong local beliefs like the application of the clay of Panchanan Thakur for getting relief from gout at Nagar in the district Howrah or the

divine medicine of Dharmajar Thakur in a village named Sije Kaddang (under the Dubrajpur police Station, in the district of Birbhum) for curing asthama or again Dharmaraj Thakur's blessed oil for massaging to cure arthritic patients, even though as a scientist, he did not believe in all such superstitions, such was his insistence for objectivity, in preference to personal beliefs, likes and dislikes.

Parivrajaker Diary (A Traveller's Diary), first published more than fifty years ago (the copy of the revised new edition, that I have been able to lay my hands upon was of Bengali year 1366) is a collection of his travelogues written earlier, from time to tome. As an anthropologist and social scientist, Professor Bose used to undertake lots of tours throughout India and particularly in the remote areas of natural bounty, where tribals and members of backward communities of India have their abode. The articles are divided into several parts - the first portion describes some sites of natural beauty and introduces urban readers to the tribals with their rich culture and life-style. The second group of articles present the unity among diversity that is evident in this very vast and divergent country. In this process he has presented to us absolutely unsophisticated characters of Dhawotal, Chaita with their artistic skills, who represent the eternal truth of India's traditional and vibrant rural culture. The third group of articles describe some folk poets, artists and even social workers, who also are a major constituent of Indian ethos. As a person, blessed with objective eyes, in the course of his travels he has also seen such teachers, including university teachers and other persons of his time, who had a single point agenda of exploiting the common people for self aggrandisement. He has included some satires to depict them in the next bunch of articles. In the last bunch of the travelogues

there are descriptions of stalwarts like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whose definition of religion was not that of practising any particular ritual, but cultivation of that state of mind, which brings human beings closer and that spirit which is ever prepared to resist evil. He was such a saint and a living example of practical non-possession that during his long travel to Santiniketan, where the writer came in personal contact with the Frontier Gandhi, he found that the leader did not have any luggage other than a second set of salwar kameez and a chhaddar. An earthen pitcher, which he was carrying for drinking water in the train, he would not take with him saying that the same may be needed by some other passenger. When Professor Bose wanted to keep a basket of fruits on behalf of Badshah Khan's host poet Tagore in his compartment during the return journey, an absolute practitioner of non-possession conceded to accept only a few fruits, which he could hold in his two plams and the rest Professor Bose was advised to distribute amongst other passengers of the third class compartment, in which Badshah Khan was travelling. The collection contains the description of Professor Bose's first encounter with Mahatma Gandhi in November 1934. He was already a convert to Gandhiji's socio-political and economic ideas and an exponent of his thoughts. Yet he was charmed with his first experience of Gandhi – the man. He could reach close to Gandhiji in a short span of time of because of his reaching Wardha in the company of Badshah Khan and his son Ghani Khan and it had been a pleasant surprise for him to find the Mahatma sparing the little time he had for solving the personal problem of Ghani Khan. The young khan was more interested in pursuing his desire of becaming an artist as a student of Nandalal Bose at Santiniketan than helping his illustrious father in promoting the Khudai Kidmadgar movement. Thereafter discussions with Nirmal Babu

started. The Mahatma first acquainted himself with detailed knowledge about Professor Bose and his family background and thereafter attended to the few questions Bose had prepared to understand his views in further detail. Since Professor Bose's enquiries were not over, Gandhiji favoured him with time not only during the next day, but the day after also. He had the privilege of discussing his points with the Mahatma, while the latter took his food, but also during his evening strolls. One experience of that encounter that Professor Bose had narrated is enough to understand the pragmatic in Gandhi. His Ashram at Wardha during those days needed repairing of its road, for which Rs.3000/- (a huge amount in those days) was asked by a contractor. With a view to saving that Gandhiji himself, along with his Ashram inmates started carrying stones (the main ingredient of good roads, which were in plenty in the surrounding) during their return trip to the Ashram from the evening strolls and thus a major cost of repairing the road was saved. Professor Bose found that already a heap of stones had thus been collected in that manner in the Ashram premises. That was, indeed, an object lesson of Gandhian technique of solvoing problems with one's own efforts to the extent possible.

Swaraj and Gandhivad (Swaraj and Gandhism) is a collection of his articles on the political, economic and social philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, written from 1934 onwards. This is one of his earliest writings on the various aspects of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy and is considered to be a standard book in understanding Gandhian principles by the Bengali readers.

Gandhiji Ki Chan (What Does Gandhiji Want?) is a collection of his six articles, written from time to time,

presenting various dimensions of Gandhian philosophy – particularly revolutionary significations of his Constructive Work and *Satyagraha*, for common Bengali readers in a very plain and simple language and style. Being a treatise of about 80 pages – almost the size of a pamphlet, it had served the purpose of a handbook for the young students of Gandhian thought, particularly because some of the articles were written in a dialogue form. The book ran into many editions and was popular through its translations in several languages, including Hindi.

Congresser Adarsha Pratistha (Establishing the Ideals of the Congress) was his first important collection of articles, written during the period of achieving our independence and immediately thereafter. First published in 1948, the articles represented his sincere efforts to understand and assess the policy and programmes of the Congress Governments, both at the centre and states in the context of the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi — the hallowed name which the Congress used and was still using in support of their working, till that period. There crept in reasonable doubts amongst both the common people and the intellectuals of India about the sincerity of the Congress party in giving an honest trial to Gandhian ideals, while trying to legitimize its rule in the name of the Father of the Nation. For, the real experience of many was a deep dismay in finding a vast gap between the sayings and doings of the Congress government, since gaining power and thereafter. Nirmalbabu believed that the Congress could justify both its existence and the style of functioning of its government only by following Gandhian principles, the sum and substance of which was attention to the last man first. He was quite categorical that his belief was not a pipe dream. That the Congress, in its wisdom,

decided to chart a different course – not much different from the path treaded by the colonial rulers, who had been compelled to quit India, did not weaken in any way the logic and arguments put forward by Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose.

In 1949 a collection of his essays, written during the previous two years, in a Bengali literary magazine on the various forces that had worked all through the ages for the emergence of the Hindu society were published for the first time as a book by the publication department of the Vishva Bharati with the name of Hindu Samajer Gadan (The Structure of Hindu Society). He began from trying to trace out the anthropological background of the process of assimilation of the original tribal society of India into the Hindu society and step by step discussed the process of what is called now a days Sanskritization or the adoption of the Brahamanical culture by the Scheduled Tribes and Castes in the then Chotanagpur region, that is the Jharkhand state of today. Thereafter he dwelt on the nature of Aryan culture in India and after depicting the broad characteristics of the Indian culture, he analysed the ancient history of the system of Varna, which in the later period had degenerated into the caste system. After surveying the situation during the medieval age, he covered the process of changes during the British rule to arrive at the present position of the Varna system. The study has depicted quite a few lesser known movements that took place among the various castes for social reform to arrive at the conclusion that "the human race could not be fragmented into perpetually divided nations, states or any other water tight entites since the basic reality hinted at an indivisible unity". The book was a part of a series of the "Lok Siksha Granthamala" of the Vishva Bharati, the first title being of Tagore himself, to be followed by the contributions of experts in several streams of

knowledge. After this pioneering effort of understanding the structure of the Hindu society had run into several editions, it is out of print for long and is no more available to the present generation of the Bengali readers, even though its English translation has been appreciated by scholars throughout the world.

Gandhiji's Nyasvad (The Theory of Trusteeship of Mahatma Gandhi), first published in 1961, was a Bengali translation of the chapter entitled "The Theory of Trusteeship" from Professor Bose's universally acclaimed standard book on Gandhian philosophy - "Studies in Gandhism". The theory of trusteeship, as presented by Mahatma Gandhi, was the most misunderstood part of his socio-economic policy, though its importance was second to none. Professor Bose, with his vast knowledge of social science experiments taken up earlier in the world, presented Mahatma Gandhi's theory in a very rational form as also in a lucid manner. Therefore, that Bengali translation was very helpful to the Bengali reading students to understand properly the philosophy behind this particular aspect of Gandhian thought. Similarly, though abridged, his Gandhi Rachana Sangraha, was a very useful translation of by far, the most popular reference book on Gandhian thoughts - his "Selections from Gandhi".

As is well known, ever since his first personal encounter with Mahatma Gandhi in 1934, in spite of his pressing engagements both as a scholar-cum-teacher and an activist, Professor Bose did not miss any chance of studying Gandhi, the man, from very close quarters. Therefore, he readily accepted the offer of Mahatma Gandhi of accompanying him to Noakhali, where Gandhiji would be engaged in his "last and the best"

fight. During his Noakhali ordeal Gandhi, octogenarian and weak in health by then, denied to himself the services of all his inmates with a view to sending them one each to different villages to work for both mitigating the fear of the microscopic minority Hindus as also for trying to bring back good sense amongst the Muslim majority. His non-violence had promoted him to engage himself in inspiring them to take the responsibility of their Hindu neighbours, since the law and order machinery of the state was simply inadequate to meet the challenge. In addition to his young granddaughter, his only helping hand, Professor Bose was accompanying him as his Secretary-cum-Bengali interpreter and teacher. During those several weeks, when the Mahatma was in his "pilgrimage" of that hostile area of Noakhali, his barefoot walks from village to village, to preach the message of love, compassion and good neighbourliness, Nirmalbabu had the rare privilege of observing Mahatma Gandhi from close quarters. He had once again this rare opportunity at the Mahatma's temporary Calcutta abode at Beliaghata, during those trying times of quenching communal fires at the dawn of India's independence. Professor Bose accompanied the Mahatma again, at the latter's insistence, to Bihar, where Gandhiji had to go from Noakhali to wipe out the fears of the Muslim minority, since they were at the receiving end there on the plea of upholding Hindu dharma. It was only when Nirmalbabu found that Gandhiji did not have much work to take from him in a Hindi speaking state, he decided to give up the temptation of being in the close company of the Mahatma and return to his normal routine and his mentor had to relent. During all these days Nirmalbabu had maintained a detailed diary as an expert chronicler and which is preserved with the Asiatic Society of Calcutta. He had narrated the gist of his experience of personal stay with the Mahatma in a book in

English named as My Days with Gandhi. His Gandhi Charit in Bengali, though dealing with the same theme, is not a translation of his English book. It is an independent volume with the following six chapters: "Truth", "Nonviolence", "Daily Routine", "Celibacy or Brhamacharya", "Gandhi as the General" and "Gandhiji on Himself". The second edition of the book was published in 1969 and since like the English edition, the first Bengali edition had also created some controversies with the humility of a scientist, in his foreword to the second edition he submitted that he had tried to depict Gandhiji's character without any reservation, as it had emerged to him. Whatever he had realized as truth might not be acceptable to others, but he did not want duty to present honestly whatever appeared to him to be true at that point of time regarding Gandhiji's character and characteristics, which were as vast as an ocean.

Ganatanter Sankat (Crisis in Democracy), published in March 1967, is a selection of 8 articles. Three of them were reprints of articles written in 1949 and published initially under the title of Congresser Adarsha Pratistha (Return to Congress Ideology). The rest were written at different times, between 1964 and 1965. The last one, of course, was a transcript of his presidential observations in a seminar organized under the then prestigious Pavlov Institute of Calcutta – a body devoted to the study of human psychology, led by a very eminent psychologist of the city of leftist orientation and published originally in the famous journal of that body Manav Man (Human Mind).

As is evident from the title of the book and the timings of writing, the sole theme running through the articles is the crisis in democracy evident in post-independent India, with special emphasis on West Bengal. For brevity's sake, we will deal specially with the last two articles only, which have their relevance even today. Both of them were published in Marxist oriented journals. About one, we have already made a reference. The last but one, *Prastavita Biplab* (the proposed revolution), was originally published in Kalantar, the then official mouthpiece of the Communist Party of India. Professor Bose was a well-known Gandhian – both in his conviction and in his personal life-style. As such he never tired of crossing swords academically with the Marxists, who were in the ascendancy during that period in Bengal. And yet the fact that the leftists of the day were willing to give him a hearing and publish his views in their journals, reveals a lot of subtle truth, both about the person and his intellectual sagacity. Without wasting time in the vain effort of elaborating them, we will leave the point to the constructive conjecture of the intelligent participants of the seminar.

Now about his views expressed in the two articles, Prastavita Biplab starts with the description of the socio-political background of post independent Bengal. He agreed with many leftist thinkers that power was still being wielded by a limited few and exploited majority remained under bondage, their condition being not very different from their fore fathers of the colonial era. The then scenario was, to quote the prediction of Gandhi of 1909, that the tiger had shed only its stripes, not its nature. Having agreed with the leftists that far, he did not subscribe to their panacea of class struggle in the form of violent agitation to capture state power to establish a "peoples' democracy". He reiterated the views of Gandhi that without constructive efforts of the people to build people's power, through their many democratic self-managed organizations at various levels and spheres, capturing of power alone, albeit with the noblest of intentions, would lead only to a "managerial

revolution" of both the political party in power and the serving bureaucracy. Cosmetics notwithstanding, the basic nature of the man-eater will still remain unchanged.

Another dimension of the proposed revolution in Bengal of that period was the disillusionment of the democratic forces of the then East Pakistan due to discrimination on ethnic and linguistic grounds by the ruling elite of that country, who were mostly from the Punjab and Urdu speaking. In a section of the democratically conscious and politically active intelligentsia of West Bengal was lurking a hope that the two forces of democracy could at least coalesce, if not unite, to bring about "peoples' democracy" or even people's state in Bengal. Professor Bose's views on this issue was prophetic. He drew attention to the Islamic ethos of East Pakistan, which had prompted the people of that country to part company with their brethren of West Bengal in 1947, in spite of similarities in many other spheres and a long history of identical culture and way of life. He felt that so long as that remained supreme (one of its strong symbols was their views on Jammu and Kashmir, which was still being seen as a Muslim majority area under Hindu hegemony, and not an experiment of secular democracy), there was every possibility of the expectations of the proposed revolution, being turned into a counter-revolution.

The presidential address, i.e., the last of series in the collection, is an ideal summing up of the presentation in a seminar the participants of which were mostly leftist intellectuals or radical thinkers (like Kapil Bhattacharya, an irrigation expert and probably the first crusader against the mad craze for mega irrigation projects of the post-independent period) of West Bengal of the day. It was ideal also because of its objective analysis of the views presented in the paper in as

few words as possible. Professor Bose, who identified himself with the thesis of Kapil Bhattacharya, was in agreement with the analysis of several others that in free India state power was hijacked by a new class of exploiters, leaving the exploited common men for centuries to their fate. But he did not accept their Marxist-type remedy of revolution, as was fashionable in those days. He presented the Gandhian alternative of building up people's power from below and creating an alternative order through constructive work and resorting to non-violent Satyagraha, whenever needed, for a civil society. He expressed unqualified appreciation of the presentation of the eminent Marxist intellectual Gopal Haldar, who had focussed on the hidden portents of alienation in the realm of human culture, centering around both humanism and ultra-humanism, which in its turn led to incomplete revolution. But while praising the scholarship of yet another Marxist academician Narahari Kaviraj, Professor Bose minced no words in challenging a pet theory of the former's school that the Wahabi and Fairazi movements, products of regeneration movement of Islam in India, had elements of class struggle in them because of their mobilization of a large number of Muslim have-nots under their banner, who rose in revolt against landlords and the rural elite, mostly non-Muslims. Professor Bose candidly pointed out the basic flaw of such thinking, which amounted to historic inaccuracy. And it was the inability of such movements to mobilize the have-nots among the Hindus and others along with them with a view to waging an united struggle against the haves of all religious denominations, that identified the sectarian and communal paradigms of the two movements.

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I would conclude with two submissions. Even after this day-long survey of Professor Bose's Bengali writings, I am sure,

it is not all comprehensive. Due to obvious reasons several of his Bengali writings, particularly those on other subjects like architecture and science etc. might have remained out of the reach of the present reviewer. A special mention may be made of his Bengali writings on the temple art and architecture of Orissa in general and Konark, in particular, of which he was an expert. Hence my first appeal to the intellectuals and admirers of Nirmalbabu, who have assembled here is to initiate some follow up action to prepare a complete bibliography of his Bengali writings. The second submission is the extension of the first. It is an earnest appeal to specially his students, associates and admirers in West Bengal to ensure the publication of his collected works in Bengali as a mark of respect to this genius of Bengal, who inspired us all to become whatever we are today. The Bengali reading public is yet to have such a thorough, meticulous and at the same time out and out rational thinker and interpreter of the socio-economic and philosophical conditions of his time in general and the views of Mahatma Gandhi, who continues to be a beacon light to not only India alone, but to the entire world and humanity. The intellectual world of today is duty bound to convey the message of Professor Bose's thoughts to the present and future generations.

# 11 Paribrajaker Diary : An Enquiry into its Anthropological Input

#### S.B.Chakrabarti

Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose almost during the dead end of his life wrote in his diary lying in a nursing home on 8.9.1972 that his recorded weight on that day was 55 kg. Those who got to know him personally might have been struck by this sudden reduction of weight. But simultaneously they would have recovered from this initial shock to reiterate the intellectual weight that this noble mind had gained in his life.

Prof. Surajit Sinha, a close associate of Prof. Bose, while writing a life-sketch of Bose had subtitled it as 'a Scholar Wanderer'. Wandering around in search of new ideas and fresh insights about the wide variety of people and their cultures of this great country was the way of life with Bose from the very beginning. This is reflected exactly in a small book, which Bose had published in Bengali in 1940 entitled *Paribrajaker Diary*.

The purpose of my presentation here is to bring out the anthropological inputs scattered through the small pieces that were written between the 1930s and 1940s in a Bengali periodical, *Shanibarer Chithi*, and were compiled in this publication. The keeping of a personal diary was cultivated habit among many great men of this country and other countries of the world. Some eminent anthropologists also pursued the same practice throughout their professional carriers. We are not going to discuss them in the present paper. On the other hand we would first of all give an outline of the contents that are accommodated in this volume. It may be noted here that Bose himself had made

this task easier by adding a thematic scheme in the preface, which has been used in the book. In all there are thirty-three entries, which he had notionally divided into five sections.

The Section I includes five pieces which tried to portray mainly the bounty of nature and its beauty along with the unfamiliar life-style of some forest dwelling tribes. The individual characters have not been emphasized surpassing the context of the surrounding nature. On the other hand, an entire cultural spectrum has been brought out to familiarise the readers with a pristine and uncontaminated cultural and environmental niche. The 'forest' has been described in the same breadth with the 'sea' and a composed and colourful life pattern of some tribes has been discovered during the changing seasons through their festivals.

The Section II includes three pieces where some individual characters have been dominant with their personal excellence acquired through their own socialization and a somewhat pre-conditioned life-style in a given socio-environmental ambience. Here, Dhaotal Oraon and Chaita are but the representatives of the courageous people who are naturally disposed to a forest situation in Palamau or Ranchi in the erstwhile Bihar for generations.

The Section III includes five pieces. We get a glimpse of five characters, namely a saint, a poet, a sadhu, an artisan and a social worker. These characters have grown in a more advanced and complicated social milieu but somehow they have been able to preserve their immense quality of life, which was not affected by the social vices that are usually present in

contemporary society. Whether it is Bir Kishore Mohanti (poet), Bhabananda Giri (sadhu), Ram Maharana (artisan), Naren Ghoshal (social workers), or an unnamed person (saint), they have a remarkable commonness in facing the odds of life without any compromise to any short-cut means for achieving an opportunistic life-style. They, on the other hand, have been able to adapt themselves in a very special manner, which shows the basic strength of a good life in the best tradition of this country.

The Section IV includes six pieces. Here we get some characters who represent the contemporary period in an advance society but behave in peculiarly unpredictable ways which are not normally expected of them. They have learnt the mechanism of combining various dubious ways of presenting themselves immaculately by hiding certain inner aspects of life, which are otherwise unacceptable to the society at large. But all of them have been able to carve out a very special position for themselves in society despite these shortcomings. The range of these characters is idealized by a college professor at one end and a motley crowd who claim to be lovers of literature on the other.

The last Section includes comparatively more number of entries i.e. 14 in total with a wide variety of coverage. The entries in the preceding Sections exposed some weak elements in the composition of character and personality of some contemporary people. But the individuals that are included in this Section show a formidable transcendence from a parochial level of thinking that was noticed among some of the characters reported in earlier Sections. These individuals have been able to overcome the evils of life that normally tend to cripple people at large. We get Mahatma Gandhi and Abdul Gaffar Khan in this Section on the one hand and social thinkers, social

reformers, a renowned botanist etc. on the other. In this Section, Bose also included three entries, two of which portray two child characters who created a world of their own by their immense simplicity and lovability. The Section ends with a note on the river Ajoy which stands for the continuity of life holding the two opposite ends, namely the veracity of behaviour on the one hand and the tenderness of mind on the other. The human souls are ever replete with the finer nuances searching for the truth out of all the worst that encircle them.

As it is, this is the outline of the book and its individual entries. Any reader while going through the book could discover an apparently unknown creative mind of Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose. According to Sinha, Bose was a wanderer par-excellence. He never believed only in the so-called formal education and degrees but wanted to refresh his mind and thinking by collecting primary information from various segments of the diverse populations placed in different socio-economic, technological and geographical contexts. And as Sinha mentioned, Bose himself preferred to be called as a Paribrajaka for the simple reason that it was his dharma. In the process of traversing through the hundreds and thousands of miles, mainly by surface transport and preferably by a bi-cycle, Bose had made it a mission of his life to go to the people, to live with them, to see things with his own eyes as to how society was transforming in the face of modern forces of change unleashed through various programmes both by the government and the nongovernment agencies. He was also looking for the inherent strength of society, which could make it possible to retain the best qualities of its tradition.

Bose was basically a meticulous observer of things. He acquired this legacy from the teachings of natural scientists.

Even the very minute details were not overlooked. These were placed in a relevant perspective. In all these thirty-three entries, there are innumerable such instances. I would only mention a few of them to drive my point home.

He began his book with a valuable observation when he compared the craftsmanship of the prehistoric man in preparing the beautiful stone tools with that of the present day man. He asked whether these people, whose ingenuity and excellence cannot be underrated, should be termed uncivilized? Should the so-called primitive people be considered inferior in any sense when they have learnt to enjoy life with collective participation? He was bent upon bringing into relief the inner strength of a simpler folk of a jungle or of a saint in a hill who does not care for the odds around and make a meaningful and useful living within the limitations of their means. Chaita, Dhaotal Oraon, Bhabananda Giri and a saint represent these characters. Birkishore Mohanti, a devoted wise man and a poet himself, dedicated his life to ensure the participation of children of the downtrodden (boys and girls) in primary education. He was outcast by his fellowmen for allowing his widowed daughter to attend school. But he patiently waited for long 18 years for the realization of his fellow villagers about this good cause; subsequently he was taken back into his old caste fold. Ram Maharana, an ordinary daily labourer, who used to prepare images out of stone pieces, had his own sense of pride and dignity. When he got to know that his creative production did not bring any wealth to him, he almost decided to kill himself by over smoking of hashish. Dr. Ashutosh Das, Satish Sen Gupta, Tulsicharan Chattopadhyay, Sachindranath, Brajanath Upadhyay, Santosh Sinha, Naren Ghosal are extraordinary in their attitudes to simple life. Their sacrifice for the good cause and avoidance of any unnecessary comfort and luxury made

them memorable to others. The brightest projection of these archetypal characters has been through the emulative portrayal of Mahatma Gandhi and Abdul Gaffar Khan.

Bose was immensely attracted by Gandhi's simple act of collecting and accumulating pebbles, while on a routine stroll, to repair the approach road of his ashrama by utilizing their own labour. He felt equally fascinated by Gaffar Khan's stubborn attitude against any personal accumulation beyond one's immediate need. Bose himself experienced this lesson while dining with and also on another occasion when Rabindranath Tagore had sent Gaffar Khan a basketful of fruits during Khan Saheb's return journey from Bolpur. After hard persuasion he only accepted a fistful of fruits out of that big basket and the rest were distributed among others present there. These, according to Bose were some very vital messages of life. This inner eye for meticulous observation of Bose as a Paribrajaka was emboldened by the lessons of a renowned botanist Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray who used to teach his students about the power of observation. The message he consistently conveyed to them was that the most valuable lesson of science education is to perpetually keep alive one's own vision. Bose personally was also sensitive to the utterly low economic condition of the poor. While on a mission of relief work in Birbhum he realized and expressed clearly that unless the basic root of this economic ill is destroyed no temporary dole or relief could be of any great help.

He also included some comic characters in this diary through Raghua (a dom), Gobardhan Laha (a watch repairer), a prince of an Orissan estate, a retailer of hashish and a few others. They somehow project a useful combination of individual peculiarities to keep others in good humour. They remain faithful

to their neighbours by producing some social worth on their own.

In this diary a number of lively people and some eminent individuals have figured, from the simple tribesmen of various forests to the Father of the Nation. A number of places also have been covered from the Himalayan Region to the shores of the river Ajoy in the Birbhum District, West Bengal. The oft quoted locations have been Ranchi/Chotanagpur/Singhbhum/ Palamou (Bihar, now Jharkhand), Puri (Orissa), Kasi (U.P.), Birbhum (West Bengal), Bastar (M.P. now Chattisgarh). The tribes like the Santals, Kols, Mundas, Oraons, have been touched along with some persons belonging to the non-tribal social segments. An emotional touch of humanity has often overwhelmed Bose when he reported the welfare efforts for the downtrodden people initiated by some organizations or individuals during the pre-independent period. He noted how they made it a point to reach out to the needy for relief work. He also narrated how some committed workers even succumbed to the deadly diseases during their social service activities. In fact they willingly accepted that predicament knowing the latent dangers. But that did not deter them from their cherished goals. Bose sometimes also observed ugly meanness in some people. He only listened to them with patience but did not hurt them back. These contrasts and contradictions in the observed behaviour pattern among the characters described in the book gave a composite nature of human character. These finer experiences multiplied in the course of his long journey as Bose moved from the very simple society to the more advanced and modern society.

The reading of this small book widens the intellectual perspectives of a reader. One becomes deeply fascinated by the quality of thinking of a self-made scholar who never bothered

to identify himself as any other person than a student of social history throughout his life.

In pursuing social history, Prof. Bose 'probably' unknowingly projected his ownself to the readers. Bose's evolutionary mind-set traces the development of human character from a relatively simple to a comparatively complex one. One feels like considering this diary as a part of a very important literary contribution as well. In addition to getting various strong and weak points of different human characters, one also gets a general socio-economic and political background of the country. The time that has been captured in the whole range of these writings was pre-independent India, which was passing through a period of subjugation under the British rule. A lot of human contradictions became glaring while their social interactions were recorded in various contexts from economic deprivation to the struggle for independence. Bose did not for a moment overlook the positive aspects of life of the so-called backward or primitive people. Their transparent and unvitiated lifestyle attracted Bose immensely when he compared them with urban people and tr attitude to life. Once Bose asked a simple folk in a forest as to why they preferred to live in a difficult terrain, which threatened their life every moment, the fellow replied whether the city was free from the normal incidence of death. On another occasion Bose enquired from a tribal person, who met with an accident that eventually became a serious leg injury and made him immobile, about his future plan of activity; the fellow replied that the rest of his life he would rather continue to work without using his legs. These extraordinary stories of moral courage opened Bose's eyes about the inner strength of the ordinary people of this country. Bose's meticulous observation captured various other moods and melodies of life. For example, once he took a stroll along the Ganges and saw

various kinds of people trying to enjoy the open space in a relatively calm and elegant natural setting. One old person was cogitating closing his eyes and on completion of the same, he moved all round with folded hands and offered *pranama* to various invisible divine forces. Bose realized that the former set of people were probably trying to take a dip into the beauty of nature for immediate mental relief while the old person was trying to appease the imaginary super natural saviours leaving no chance of harm by any one of them.

The power of observation that Bose inherited from his teachers was extremely useful in studying the practical aspects of life. In course of researching into the intellectual inputs behind Bose's observation and imagination, one also gets a glimpse of his emotional and romantic bent of mind. He once saw a dead cow being carried while it was delivering a calf. He also noticed in a different context a female dead body left out pyre while walking down the forest area. He suddenly realized that there was no difference between a human being and cattle when both of them faced the cruelty of death. Similarly, Bose's philosophical mind responded to a scene when he came out to see the terrific storm over the sea at night. He immediately idealized that the otherwise calm and quiet sea, which suddenly became so rough in a moment, had basically no appeal to itself. It did not even carry a memory of it; but the human mind, out of its creative impulse, gave an aesthetic touch to it in very many ways, thus recreating a unique cultural domain. Bose appeared to be extremely emotional when he carried a shaving soap with the touch of tender fingers of a child who played with it. Bose preferred not to do away with it and chose not to shave at that particular moment of time. This child used to pat his back in some leisurely moments with loving affection, which he recalled in a lonely situation. He also visualized to be

romantic himself when he saw how easily the women among tribes could make love with their beloved husbands. All these scattered jottings, when collected together, help a reader to rebuild the numerous constituents in a person like Bose behind his actual appearance with cultivated reservation. Bose at times became equally satirical on the apparently paradoxical nature of urban people, which pained him a lot. For example, he met a professor of a college who taught history in a Kolkata college and went for an academic tour to a village in Karnataka. The professor took all financial grants from the college for the tour. But on personal enquiry Bose came to know that the professor had gone there to inspect on the spot an electric company where the professor intended to invest his money for buying shares. But Bose never lost hope in man. He continued to study all the intricacies of human behaviour with patience and skill.

By and large, the diary played a positive part in literary contribution full of very important insight and anthropological inputs. Bose will be remembered by posterity for his germane observation made through his innumerable writings, both in English and Bengali. These were expressed in lucid language and in an absorbing narrative style. *Paribrajaker Diary* is but one among such treasures of knowledge elegantly contributed by Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose.

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## Study of work and leisure : A revisit to Panihati

S.R.Das and S.P.Lala.

In his paper on 'the effect of urbanization on work and leisure' published in Man in India (1957), N.K.Bose observed that nature of leisure and entertainment varies from society that depends on farming and a society that relies on nonagricultural economic pursuits. He further observed that while work and leisure are more or less seasonally distributed among the farmers, these are not the same among the industrial urban working population rather different classes of industrial working people have different shades of leisure activities. Moreover leisure becomes more personalized and range of choices becomes wider among urban industrial working people. By the term – leisure Bose has meant how one uses leisure time after a hard day's work. He expressed that amateur clubs or libraries punctuated their normal activity with social services of various kinds thereby tending to give rise to a sense of social consciousness that has been attributed to one of the results of India's contact with the West. Bose asserted 'with an increasing urbanization of rural India we are perhaps on the threshold of an edge in which we are seeking to strive for new roots into culture of ancient times so that we shall be furnished with strength to face the problems and responsibilities of the present'(Bose: 1957).

It was in the mid fifties that Bose and his associates (B.N.Banerjee) had tried to examine these issues by surveying the people of a village depending on agriculture in the district

of Midnapore and an urban municipal town called Panihati located in the north-24 Paraganas district of West Bengal.

On the occasion of the birth centenary of Nirmal Kumar Bose nearly forty-six years from his study on leisure, the Anthropological Survey of India in order to pay respect and tribute towards one of its former Directors and an accomplished anthropologist of this country has undertaken a small survey of a short duration in both these locations to look at the issues that were raised by Bose. The purpose of this survey is to observe to what extent the nature of leisure activity has changed and to what extent the proposition put forward by Bose has remained unchanged or has altered after fifty years of social progress and finally to know if people have conceptualized and added any new dimension in understanding work and leisure in the present day perspective.

The town Panihati is situated on the bank of Ganga at a distance of about 20 k.m. from Kolkata and it is connected by rail and road. The Panihati municipal town as it was presented in the paper had the following features.

- Town had a population of 49,600 (1951 Census). Population increase that took place between 1941 and 1951 was from 27,400 to 49,600 and is mainly attributed to the large scale exodus of Bengali population soon after partition in 1947 and migratory working population from the neighboring states in the industrial units, established along the Ganga coast of Panihati, Kharda and Agarpara.
- b) There were 4 colonies of displaced persons.

- c) Two sports clubs, one having a library were established in 1914 and 1950.
- d) There were health centers and a labour welfare center.
- e) One cinema house.
- f) Two Harisabha.
- g) Common means of entertainments were radio, carrom, ludo, and cards and occasional yatra on festive occasion.
- h) There was no cultivable land.
- i) The town was a center of Vaisnava and Shakta traditions.

Since the town has grown rapidly over the last fifty years, many of its features have expanded and been added. It may not be out of context to say a few more words about the town to understand its pattern of growth along with its cultural history.

Panihati in the past was famous as a trade center and it is said that Shri Chaitanya had visited the place and instructed one of his disciples – Shri Nityananda to establish an Ashram for teaching and preaching of Vaisnavism. Ramakrishna Paramahangsa had visited the town to pay his homage to Shri Chaitanya. An annual festival called Danda Mahotsav or *Chirer mela* is organized every year where lakhs of Vaisnava devotees take part. Pirer mela, *Gosalar mela* and the recently started

Niranjan Mela are a few worth mentioning cultural events of Panihati. Rabindranath Tagore stayed at Panihati for a brief period during his childhood days. The same house is still in existence. The Municipality observes the death anniversary of poet on 22<sup>nd</sup> *Sravana* every year with true spirit and respect. This is considered as an important cultural event of this town. Rabindra Nath Tagore attended the opening ceremony of The Basanti Cotton Mill and delivered the inaugural address on that occasion.

During the pre-independent days the town had witnessed the presence of several statesmen like Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose, P.C.Ray, Satish Das Gupta in connection with various socio-political activities. Gandhiji came to Panihati on a number of occasions and also was associated himself with the establishment of the Khadi Pratisthan (It may be mentioned that P.C.Roy later on, opened the Bengal Chemical Laboratory at Panihati and Shri Satish Das Gupta was a manager of the institution). Presence of such people added a new spirit and strength to development. People too were actively associated with socio-political movements especially in respect of rehabilitation of the people from east Bengal, trade union movements and also other democratic movements of the town. All those made the town politically vibrant and conscious one. The influence of Christianity and Buddhism can be noticed from the facts that there is a church as well as a Buddha temple located at Panihati. Due to establishment of mills, factories, a large number of workers from the states like Orissa, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, etc. have come and settled. It is said that earlier there was a Burmese population who later left and settled elsewhere. The tribals (Oraon and Santal) came to Panihati in connection with the construction of the railway line some times in 1860.

At present there is the Adibasi Tir Sangha whose members still practise *Karam Puja*. Besides there are *Adibasi* settlements in this town. With the presence of so much cultural and linguistic heterogeneity this town presents us a picture of diversities in terms of cultural practices, religious faith, occupational categories and leisure activities.

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The Panihati Municipality was established on 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1900. It is said that primarily due to the demand of factory workers and management staff for more and better civic facilities the municipality with an area of 7.5 sq.miles (19.43 sq.k.m.) was formed with 6 wards. It was expanded to twenty-three wards in 1963 and further expanded to thirty in 1986 and finally became 35 wards in 1998.

Most of the old temples, ashrams, *Harisabha*, are located along the Ganga. From the old inhabitants we have recorded that in 1954-55 a handful of passengers used to travel by train and in the evening while returning they used to walk in a group. Only after 1955 new settlements, roads, schools, started coming up on the other side of the railway station formally known as Sodepur. Right now the town's population is more than 4 lakhs while estimated population in the year 2000 was 3,60,000 and 2,75,359 in 1991 as per the Census. The population growth is so fast that even the land of the closed factories or mills is now being converted into housing complex to accommodate the increasing demands (for example: land of The Bangolakshmi Cotton Mill on B.T.Road has been converted to Peerless Nagar, a newly constructed housing complex). The Panihati

municipality town has important public services, which have made it relatively improved for better living (see appendix).

In the sphere of education Panihati had shown early promise and progress. The Sodepur High School and Trananath High School were established as early as in 1853 and 1896 respectively. A number of schools were established after independence to meet the demand of the huge population who had migrated from east Bengal and elsewhere. Schools were opened for students from non-Bengali speaking people. There is a Telelgu medium school in the ward No.3, A Urdu medium in the ward 7 and a Hindi medium school in the ward No.2, 7, 8. Two of the oldest libraries of this town i.e., Bandhab Pathagar and Sasadhar Pathagar were founded in 1898 and 1908 respectively. The presence of all these institutions speaks volumes about the quality of life of the people of those days. On the contrary the town library today does not get many readers. Readers are mostly students, more keen to look out for textbooks relevant to their courses or examinations. The libraries at various clubs and neighbourhood are not doing very well either. Further it may be added that for the progress of education (in establishing libraries and schools) the common citizens, important individuals, municipality, the State Government, Colony Welfare Committee and cultural associations, traders, and the factory owners to have jointly contributed. (example The Dipti Hurricane Factory's owner established one school – Agarpara Estate Primary School; the Bengal Chemical had established a primary school, now closed).

For the last fifteen years a book fair is being organized at Panihati with state government patronage and with active support of the municipality. In connection with this book fair, a weeklong fair is also organized to hold cultural and literary forums and functions. It provides opportunity to the local cultural associations or individual with creative excellence in various cultural fields to perform their activities. Thus this fair has helped to revive the local cultural activities. The cultural groups such as theatre, musical groups, dancing troupes, etc. eagerly wait for this annual event which has been turned out to be a very important secular cultural event of this town. It has provided both performers and participants a new mode of leisure activity.

It has been told by the respondents that in the past Panihati was very much popular for its number of theatre groups and yatra (folk theatre). A number of musical conferences used to be held at the local level but suddenly there was a decline of the forms of creative activities. During the last twenty years this form of creative arts has witnessed a resurgence. Cultural festivals, sports, and athletic meets, children's festivals etc. have become a common and significant feature of this town. The construction of the Lok Sanskriti Bhavan at Panihati and similar auditorium facility available in the neighbourhood have boosted up the spirit of cultural groups and provided the strength to their continuation and process of creativity. The roles of sports and cultural organizations are quite significant in this respect. Each of these cultural units has its own support and patrons; who use their units as a source of leisure activity, thus help in continuing the tradition and activities of their associations. Earlier, about more than 150 club organizations organized their festival of sports and cultural functions by constituting a nodal body. However, this effort did not continue due to lack of adequate response and consensus among the organisations and presence of divergent interests. Despite such adversaries

individual units, clubs or cultural organizations did continue with their efforts and survived with their objectives. The Panihati Sports and Cultural Organization has produced several outstanding sports persons of national and international repute. Of late many organizations have opened new opportunities to the people, for example coaching center for sports, athletic, gymnastics, yoga, recitation, swimming, etc. which can be useful for leisure. It may be mentioned that the Panihati Municipality employees have their own recreation club. They have a drama unit, which regularly organizes drama and takes part in drama festivals. The municipal recreation club has a holiday home named Pennety Bhawan at Digha. This specifies that recreation is an approved norm of social life even in government sponsored institution. This may also be added that such recreation facilities like, organizing picnic among the workers, organizing sports and cultural meets, Biswakarma Puja are common in the factory and industrial unit and at the level of municipality. The Municipality Employees' Welfare Society also takes part in different welfare and developmental programmes. Of late, the industrial units are facing difficult times and as a result cultural and recreational activities have become irregular.

Several respondents during our survey have alleged that clubs or cultural associations are centers of politics and mostly are not ideal centers for which these were set up and therefore, they tried to altogether disown the positive aspects of these organizations particularly in respect of their providing resource for leisure. There are a number of welfare committees and associations in different settlement areas. They too encourage, take part in sociocultural functions on their own initiative and at times with definite political patronage. In this respect the role of the colony people who have formed these welfare cum

development associations has to be recognized. Right now there are more than 80 colonies and almost all of them have their welfare associations. Some welfare associations are notable in this connection (Amarabati Kalyan Samity, Arunachal Pallimangal Samity, Natagar Ramkirshna Sarada Kalyan Samity, Purbapalli Unnayan Samity, Dakshinayan Kalyan Samity, Sodepur Kalyan Samity, etc.) and they are primarily non-political associations. There are a number of party unit offices of different political parties situated in the locality. They take part in sociocultural functions and organize such functions. Therefore, political intervention is not altogether absent and a section of population too express skepticism towards these organizations.

We present here the facts in respect of the various sociocultural activities of a few important clubs/organizations to get an idea about their objectives. The table-1 given below suggests to what extent these associations offer the resource to be used during leisure and also what they receive in return as social response and support in the promotion of sports, cultural and social welfare activities, amidst diverse opinion and conflicting views. In fact, conflict and disagreement have provided opportunities to create more multiple areas of leisure and recreation like formation of new clubs or cultural organizations with different objectives and purposes.

Harisabha i.e., congregation of devotees is an important means for recreation and sources of leisure for the working people. In recent times importance of these Harisabha have reduced considerably. Only occasionally with the support of affluent families these become functional. Public support and care are not enough for the survival and continuation of such

Harisabha. On the other hand it has been observed that especially in the colony areas small group of devotees and followers of some godly men like Anukul Thakur, Lokenath, Balak Brahamachari, Ratikanta Baba (Shri Guru), Nirgamananda Saraswati, etc. have formed small religious circles. They arrange their weekly or monthly religious meetings. These 'alternative Harisabha' provide a lot of people pleasure during their leisure time.

Coming back to our base-line study of the Panihati town we find that B.Banerjee had gathered information from about hundred families and one hundred and fifty-four working individuals from thirteen communities. (Chart-1)

Chart-1

Sl.No.	Community	Total family	Number of working/
	earni		
1	Vaisnava	19	24
2	Jele/Mala	2	2
3	Brahman	35	67
4	Baidya	6	9
5	Kayastha	25	36
6	Dhoba	2	2
7	Kumar	2	2
8	Tanti	1	1
9	Teli	2	3
10	Kangsa Banik	3	4
11	Baisya	1	- 1
12	Sudra	1	1
13	Khatriya	1	2
	Total	100	154

The leisure activities of the working individuals as presented by Banerjee have been represented in the table-II. It reveals that out of a hundred and fifty-five individuals 60 persons did not specify how they spent their leisure time. 30 individuals out of remaining 95, spent leisure at *Harisabha* and the Vaisnava community forms a significant proportion (21) of the studied sample. A sizeable number (15) stated to be so overburdened with their work that they did not have leisure time and similarly 12 persons preferred to continue with their normal work even during their leisure. One gets the impression that people had not many options of leisure activities and barring attendance in religious congregation only a few opted for other modes of leisure activities. Listening to radio was also a favourite past time for a few.

#### Ш

Against this backdrop of existing reality our study submits certain observations from this location. At the outset it may be stated that our scope and objectives are limited and simple. To simplify our understanding about issues like leisure and work we too interviewed nearly 300 individuals from 181 families of different communities in Panihati during our short period of fieldwork (Chart-2). Our purpose was to record leisure activities and their diversities and also to record the views and opinions in respect of leisure and work.

Chart - 2

Sl.No.	Caste/ communities	No. of family	No.working/ earnining Individual	
			Male	Female
1	Brahman	36	51	6
2	Kayastha	62	120	
3	Vaidya	7	8	
4	Napit	2	2	
5	Goala	3	6	
6	Kumhar	5	10	
7	Malakar	2	2	
8	Mahisya	2	3	
9	Jele/Mala	3	9	
10	Tanti	2	2	
11 .	Teli	5	5	
12	Gandha Banik	1	3	
13	Vaishya	10	14	
14	Oriya	3	4	
15	Buddhist	3	4	
16	Scheduled Cas	te 35	58	
	Total	181	301	6

Banerjee in his paper specified the duration of leisure however, we have not specified the same as most of the respondents did not like to point out any specific time and day as period of leisure for various reasons, like social commitment.

With relatively more economic stability and more options of leisure activities available in and around, it is expected that educationally enlightened and economically well off

individuals might be looking for new modes of leisure and entertainment. This has been observed from our gathered information. Let us place our own observation in respect of leisure activities. (Table -III).

Reading books, literary activities, watching sports on television, involvement in domestic work, engagement in business and participation in socio-political activities are some of the major activities that form as part of leisure activities of the working people. It is to be noted that such activities like reading of books, involvement in socio-political activities or cultural activities have in general remained domain among people of the upper strata of the society, and to some extent among the educationally and economically forward individuals from middle and lower middle class strata. Individuals with more economic freedom and stability have shown interest in pursuing various leisure activities, which they were denied earlier while they were young. Thus individual desires and bringing them into practice has become common despite family and other social constraints. It may also be pointed out that the cinema going, as a popular form of recreation did not draw much attention even in the fifties when cinema had no competitors as it has now.

Several respondents pointed out that domestic activities were their priority even during leisure. Domestic activities include attending to household needs, maintenance or house keeping, looking after children and their education, meeting relatives, etc. Though they admitted that these activities were an extension of day to day work but the compulsion and commitment were so significant that the respondents had accepted the domestic work as a part of their leisure. In fact for

many leisure and work had been synonymous. Similarly a section of our respondents preferred to remain engaged with their professional engagement even after working hours or during normal leisure while maintaining their position they affirmed that their responsibility towards family, profession, were more precious than spending time on conventional recreational activities. They felt that their pleasures were embedded in their commitment towards work.

Involvement in socio-political activities by a number of respondents has constituted an important aspect of leisure. Participation in political activities by the people of Panihati is not a new one for them. In recent years both the ruling political front and their political opposition are quite effective in the local social political scenario. Both fronts have their followers and committed members. For these committed members political activity is their primary concern during their leisure period. For the sake of political commitment the people even tend to ignore domestic compulsion and conventional recreational measures. For these individuals attendance in the party office and party directed socio-political activities are their leisure. For them work and leisure are overlapping and inseparable and complementary to each other.

On the other hand a number of new modes of leisure activities from gardening, painting to computer surfing, etc. have been added to this list. Surprisingly *adda* or gossiping, a favourite pastime in this part of the country is declining amongst the working class. Perhaps a further probe is required to look into this aspect. At the same time *adda* has taken new shape and form. The literary circles, drama units, cultural and amusement centers, clubs and even political units give their

participants ample scope of gossiping on diverse subjects and issues. People have opportunities of forming their gossip group in such centers and even at times a gossip group may organize picnics, social get-together for their members. Further the social and 89cultural organizations to a large extent have been performing the role of nurturing the creative aspects of adda. Without so much passion and persistent involvement of the members these cultural centers would have been discontinued. Thus the aspects of adda and creativity have been merged in many of these cultural organizations. In addition to that family and friends often meet for an adda at luxurious restaurants thus the center of interest has been shifted from the house or neighborhood locality to a different place altogether. Travelling either independently or in groups has also been added as a new form of leisure and entertainment. Presence of travel agencies and their frequent advertisement suggests their demand and popularity. From the foregoing illustrations we find that the concept of leisure has no longer remained associated with entertainment only. Elderly citizens of this town stated that in the past people in a family used to derive pleasure during festival/festive events at the family level. The family elders had a decisive say in the choice of leisure activities. In to day's perspective, lazy rest is not opted as a mode of leisure unless aged, according to most respondents. one is sick and Constructive work should be done during leisure and recreation should act as stimulant in making a person fresh, energetic, and tension free, which is the very purpose of leisure as felt by the respondents. From this perspective people by and large have defended the utility of television, which has produced more good things than wrong. Though we have referred to the processes of resurgence of cultural associations and their activities, it is to be noted that excepting socio-religious festivals

such as Durga *Puja*, Kali *Puja*, Saraswati *Puja*, etc., which are primarily community sponsored the other cultural activities are essentially dependent on the sponsorship of corporate houses. Thus the organizers of cultural functions have greater responsibilities for arranging sponsorship on one hand and drawing people on the other towards their activity. Under this situation many organizations have become less functional due to lack of sufficient support. People too have turned towards less expensive and less obligatory mode of leisure such as television.

V

We conclude our presentation with following observations:

- State of leisure in urban situation among the working class is not fixed, in terms of time, season and also not event specific. However, time, event, season, etc. all contribute to determine one's option of leisure activities. During the last 50 years with the expansion of urban facilities and social progress, choices of or options about leisure have been multiplied and individual opinion in respect of leisure has become more dominant.
- b) Understanding of leisure has not been uniform. The necessity of life, education, nature of employment, one's involvement in club or association, etc. have reasonable influence on leisure activities. Having known about the socio-political situation, political intervention and competitiveness among the workers and their influence on work and leisure, common people tried to use their leisure in accordance with their convenience and for constructive purpose.

c) This small account based on restudy of Panihati did not try to formulate any theoretical and conceptual framework. Our effort was to look into those aspects of leisure which were brought to our notice by Bose. We feel the basic proposition, as put forward by Bose remained the same. With more expansion of education, exposure to global economy and sociopolitical compulsion people are in a position to think about work and leisure from a pragmatic point of view.

The study of issues like leisure and work as aspects of urban study initiated by Bose as early as in 1954/55 was definitely a novel and challenging one. It is quite significant that he could visualize the potentialities and possibilities of such a study in identifying our cultural centers, cultural distinctiveness. Amidst social diversity and pressure of disintegrated forces understanding leisure and its different modes might give us strength to keep ourselves united and culturally distinct. To understand this dynamic aspect of urban society, the study of Bose is notable and by studying the Panihati town he has drawn attention of social scientists to make more in depth effort to shed light on the more finer interactional details of urban society. We acknowledge his thought and insight in understanding social realities hitherto unattended by anthropologists.

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## **Appendix**

The Panihati Municipality town has important public services, which have made it relatively improved for better living. These are:

- 1. Market 5, one super market, 4 big markets besides 10 private markets.
- 2. Children's park 20
- 3. Hospital 1
- 4. Private Nursing Home 6
- 5. Health Centre 6
- 6. College 2
- 7. School High School (12); Senior Secondary Certificate (18) (boys 10 girls 8) English Medium School.
  - Primary School 117 (Government. authorized)
- 8. 6 Government sponsored; 65 private libraries; 1 Town Library (1987)
- 9. Cinema House 4 (one of them is not functional)
- 10. Auditorium 1 Lok Sanskriti Bhaban
- 11. Bus/Mini Bus Stand 7

- 12. Bank 11
- 13. Railway Station 2 (Sodepur/Agarpara)
- 14. Club organisation 100+
- 15. Important temple 17

Church - 1

Buddha temple - 1

Mosque - 1

16. Industrial unit – 18 big

53 middle range

115 small scale industries

- 17. Cable T.V. operator 1
- 18. Luxury restaurant 2
- 19. Displaced persons' colony 82 (however not all of these colonies are situated on forcefully occupied land (jabar dakhal). There are colonies, which have been established by the displaced persons, on purchased land, and there are a few whose land has been allotted by the State Government. Colony is synonymous with the settlement of the displaced persons, but it is wrong and it is also wrong in identifying all of them as intruders. It is a particular historical incident that has converted their identity as displaced persons/refugees. There are individuals and organizations who have tried to capitalise on these incidents as a part of their political activities. It is true that the displaced individuals themselves took part in socio-political movements in respect of their rehabilitation. Many of these colonies afterwards developed welfare association in order to involve their settlers in the process of development and to create a socio-cultural environment which could be conducive for pursuing cultural excellence and recreation for their members and for securing an identity of their own.)

Table - I: Socio cultural activities of a few selected club of the Panihati town

	1	,	Activities				į	Facilities		Remarks
	Sports	Sports Gym/Yoga Drama	Drama	Cultural function	Religious function	Social work	Library	Painting school	Music school	. *
Sukchar Union Club (1900)	Sports			Cul.funct.						Football coaching centre
Sodepur Club (1925)	Sports	Gym/Ath.	Drama	Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Soc.work	Lib*	Painting		
Panihati Sporting (1898)	Sports				Rel.funct.		Lib*			Swimming/Sports wing for women
Panihati Club (1914)	Sports	Gym/Yoga	Drama	Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Dispensory	Lib*		Mus.school	Brotochari** Mountaineering
coaching course										
Pragati Sangha (1945)	Sports			Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Lab.Med.Bunk				Football coaching centre
Amarabati Kalyan Samiti (1955	Sports	Yoga		Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.		Lib*	Painting	Mus. school	Sports wing for women
Agradoot (1955)	Sports			Cul.funct.		Text.book Lib.				Blood donation camp
Uday Sanskriti Sangha (1957)	Sports			Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Soc.work	Lib*			
Ekta (1954)	Sports	Yoga/Ath			Rel.funct.	Soc.work			Mus.school	Blood donation camp
Gana Milan (1971)										Literary & cultural association
Sukchar Kalitala Club (1956)	Sports	Gym/T.T.		Cul.funct.						
Jagarani (1950)	Sports			Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Soc.work	Lib*	Painting		Volleyball coaching centre
Tirtha Bharati (1960)	Sports		Drama	Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Soc.work	Lib*	Painting		Volleyball coaching centre
D. K. Sangha (1964)	Sports				Rel.funct.	Soc.work	Lib*			
Netaji Sangha (1958)	Sports			Cul.funct.		Soc.work	Lib*			Cricket coaching centre
Natagarh Sangha (1950)	Sports	Gym		Cul.funct.			Lib*			
Panihati Vaisnab Samaj(1975	Sports		Drama	Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.	Soc.work				Organises Chirer Mela
Ramkrishna Spt. Club (1949)	Sports				Rel.funct.					
Yugabani (1952)	Sports			Cul.funct.			$\text{Lib}^*$		Affilia	Affiliated to Indian Football Association.
Ghoshpara Club (1942)	Sports			Cul.funct.	Rel.funct.			Painting		Children's Park
Vivekananda Samiti (1927)	Sports	Atheletics			Rel.funct.					

<sup>\*</sup> State Government Sponsored
\*\* It could be explained as parallel to Scout Movement

Table-II: Leisure activities, as reported from the paper of Prof. Banerjee

Castes	Harisabha	Harisabha Playing cards Reading book Religion circle Gardening	eading book F	deligion circle	Gardening	Music	Fishing	Business	Domestic	No time Tution	Tution	Cinema	Radio	Clubs Not specified Total	Total
Jele							_							-	5
Dhobi														2	2
Kumar										<b>C1</b>					<b>C1</b>
Tanti										_					-
Teli								-						2	8
Vaishya										П					-
Kshtriya								7							C1
Sudra Kansha-													-		-
Banik													-	61	4
Kayastha	В			-	CI	CI				7				3 18	36
Vaisnab	21										_		_		24
Brahman	5	-	-	-	7	-		∞	_	2	ব	-	6	2 29	29
Vaidya	-	•	-							7				\$	6
Total	30	-	2	2	4	3	-	12	-	15	w	1	12	9 9	154

Table-III: Leisure activities, as observed in the present study

	ing F	Religi- lous ous circle	Religi- Recita- activit- ous tion ies circle		pol. activit- ies		(sports)	(sports) (cinema)	ral/ drama	paper	Irama /	paper drama Associa- tic tion		lcisure man	n utor			
3 6	9		-	-	5	_	4	-	2	9		4	5	-	_			
4	•	4	m		12	_	12	7	9	17	15	15	9	8	-	<b>C1</b>		7
			_	_	2					_						_		
					_					-			_		2			
					_					_	_					_		
					7		-	m		_	4		_					
					_		7											
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									_			-	_					
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									-			_	_					
		64												2				
			_					_				_					-	
										CI								
_		_	_			7		_	4				ব	7 4	-			
		_																$\infty$
12		13	9	8	26	4	22	91	12	27	22	27	24	8	4	7	∞	7
	L																	

# The Effect of Urbanisation on Work and Leisure at Amdabad: An Appraisal

**Jyotirmoy Chakraborty** 

Both work and leisure have existed in all technological civilizations at all the times. It is almost universal for all societies, as work and leisure are often inseparably interwoven. Concept of leisure has been shaped and reshaped from time to time. Some scholars like de Grazia (1962) and others had traced the origin of leisure to the way of life enjoyed by certain aristocratic classes of the western civilization (International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences p.249). In the later phase the concept of leisure has been greatly discussed in the context of rural life of modern societies as agricultural labour is tending towards an industrial mode of organisation and rural life is already influenced with urban values of industrialisation (ibid p.250). Further relevant changes have occurred in leisure styles during the last few decades as a consequence of inroads of advanced technology and increased sophistication among the new generations.

As leisure is a social phenomenon and because it is often overlapping with entertainment on account of its commercial and ideological overtone it cannot be considered as full leisure. Further it is very difficult to distinguish leisure activities from free time. However, in social science, we mostly deal with leisure time activities and not leisure. It is a very difficult task to ascertain a valid definition of the term 'leisure'. Ida Craven has defined leisure as "freedom from activities centering around the earning livelihood". Hence leisure is always personal on

the one hand as it has also a social aspect on the other. So leisure or leisure time activities are to be studied in the context of society and culture.

A lot of direct and indirect brilliant studies on leisure and leisure time activities have been undertaken during the last few decades. But all these studies have mostly been done in other parts of the globe. In India a few studies have also been made on this aspect. Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose was one of the scholars who made his observation on this unique aspect of Indian society and has given a comparative picture on two areas in the form of a synchronic study.

Professor Bose had emphasised the importance of understanding the present state of traditional arts and traditional uses of Indian literature both in urban and rural context (Bose 1957). He made an enquiry in two areas of West Bengal, one at Amdabad, a relatively distant peasant village in the district of Midnapur and the other at Panihati, a neighbourhood town of Kolkata. Initially the fieldwork was done by Sri Biswanath Banerjee in both the areas (Bose 1957, Banerjee 1957) and Professor Bose had later visited the places and depicted facts in the light of anthropological analysis. He tried to find out the root causes of the observed changes through these studies. He observed that in a village where agriculture is the mainstay of economy work and leisure are seasonally distributed. But with the growth of industrial set-up and development of new means of earning work and leisure are no longer seasonally distributed.

As a tribute to Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose the Anthropological Survey of India decided to make a quick survey in the two areas where Bose had conducted a unique study on

the effect of urbanization on work and leisure. I was entrusted with the study at the village Amdabad. Since it was a quick survey of an earlier study of Prof. Bose we have taken Bose's observations as benchmark data. The paper was presented in this session with preliminary analysis of the phenomena with certain limitation and scope.

Amdabad, a village of peasants under the Nandigram Police Station is situated 136 kilometers away from Kolkata. The nearest Railway Station is Mechada about 55 kilometers away from the village. It was a multi-caste village at the time of Bose's study and had a population of 4,500. Among the higher castes there were Brahman, Vaishnava, Mahishya, Tanti (weaver), Kumara (potter), Teli (oil-presser) while the Paundra Kshatriyas, Dules (palanquin-bearer), Karangas (carpenter), 'Chitrakara' or Patidara (painter) were among the scheduled castes. There were some Mohammedans in the village. People were mostly dependent on agriculture and agricultural pursuits besides 'rent and money lending'. Basket making and mat weaving from palm leaves were prevalent in the village.

Professor Bose had reported that there were two high schools and one primary school in the village besides nine clubs and libraries with a total membership of 1,441 or 32.02% of the total population. He theorized that the dissemination of tradition would percolate through various programmes of these institutions.

Regarding the question of entertainment and recreation he had referred to the traditional culture of the locality comprising of the songs and dramas of indigenous type i.e. *yatra* as well as the recital of the Bhagavata and the popular epic poems by the Brahman. Another old type of entertainment was the exhibition and recitation of the painted scrolls or *pata* by the Patidara caste at the village level. All these used to be performed in the latter part of the rainy season or in the slack periods of agriculture. A few of them were able to compose verses on the stories from the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The social position of the Patidaras among their Hindu neighbours was that of a degraded caste because of their mixed cultural practices of both the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Vaishnavas used to earn their livelihood by means of mendicancy as well as singing the life stories of Radha and Krishna. Prof. Bose observed that all castes used to discuss religious and moral lessons in the form of entertainment, which were handed down from one generation to another. He further provided some quantitative data of castes who had been carrying on their traditional occupation.

Bose observed that there was demand of schooling among all the castes, including the Dules or palanquin-bearers cum agricultural labourers in order to raise their social status. He had also noticed that there was considerable competition between the old and the new types of entertainment on the one hand and the competition between villages or between factions within the same village on the other. As a result there was an increase in the number of clubs and libraries on a non-caste basis in the post-independent era. These clubs used to organise theaters of both the urban type and indigenous *yatra* of rural type as a social service. This led to the progressive decay of the traditional entertainment performed by the professional castes such as the Patidaras.

However, Bose concluded that the village Amdabad retained the old traditional types of entertainment along with the newly introduced urbanized forms as the village was not easy to approach. The earthen toys of the Patidara women had been replaced by ready-made plastic and celluloid dolls introduced by local traders. Demand of cinema had greatly increased and the people were ardent to move ten to fifteen miles either on foot or in a bullock cart to see films and the films were more social than religious in nature. Professor Bose had felt that the people of Amdabad got the taste of urbanization and they were in favour of secular appeal than the purely religious stories as presented by the Brahman and Patidara castes.

Let us move to the present situation of Amdabad after forty-five years of the study by Prof. Bose and Sri B.N.Banerjee. Previously it was under a single administrative unit. Now it has been divided into two separate Gram Panchayats. Amdabad No. 1 Gram Panchayat consists of village Amdabad and Subdi, on the other hand six small settlements like Takapura, Kamalpur, Keyakhali, Ranichalk, Satganbari came under Amdabad No. 2 Gram Panchayat. Our present discussion is about the village Amdabad. Till now it is a peasant village and it is confined to a mono crop area as there is no other source of irrigation except rainwater and ponds. It is quite a big village with a total population of 8,895. Its geographical area is 871.36 Sq.Kms.

Among the general castes there are Brahman, Mahisya, Tanti, Teli, Kumara etc. likewise Paundra Kshtriya, Koranga, Patidara, Behara (Dule as referred to by Bose) constitute the scheduled castes. Mohammedans are also present. Hence, it appears that the ethnic set-up of the village is still almost the

same as was observed by Bose. Only total population of the Patidara caste has considerably decreased. With the growth of population the occupational pattern has greatly changed. Castebased occupations are not strictly followed. For example from among the Mahishyas dominant caste in the village, a few are involved in carpentry work, service, petty trade, pulling of cycle rickshaw van besides their traditional occupation of agriculture. Van-pulling is now a new occupation where a number of caste people including the Muslims are involved. Prof. Bose observed that people from the Mahisya caste were entering the profession of image-making: i.e. he too noticed the shift from traditional occupation to newer occupations among the Mahisyas. The caste occupation of the Patidaras no more exists, they have shifted to image-making which they started earlier than the Mahishyas. I have already mentioned that population of the Patidara caste has greatly decreased. A large number of people have left the village in search of alternative occupation. In case of the Brahmans only a few pursue their traditional occupation of priesthood. Besides agriculture they opt for service, petty trade, job of cooking etc. A few Acharya families are living in Amdabad who previously used to prepare horoscopes. Today only two persons prepare horoscopes. It may please be noted that Prof. Bose and Banerjee did not mention about the Acharyas. The Paundra Kshatriyas, the next dominant caste after the Mahisyas are economically well off and are attached to agriculture, service and business. The Korangas are still holding their traditional occupation and are also in service. The Beharas now identify themselves as Ray and Das whom Prof. Bose referred to as Dule and they are mostly occupied as agricultural labour. However, a few of them have shifted to other occupations like brick-kiln work, image-making, musical instrument playing, acting, etc. Their traditional occupation - carrying of palanquin is defunct now. Members of a section of this caste have embraced Vaisnavism and earn their bread by singing songs related to Radha and Krishna. In the month of Baishakha, Kartika and Magha they used to go and still continue to go for nam-kirtana locally called mohal, in the houses of the Mahisyas and Paundra Kshatriya clients. They get 30 kgs. of rice and Rs.30 in cash for the whole period of three months. Today the ritual reading of popular epic poems is very limited. Only a few well-to-do Mahisya and Paundra Kshatriya farmers are maintaining this tradition by arranging such readings for a day or two instead of a fortnight or a month as used to be done in the past. It used to be performed only in the houses of rich Mahisyas as referred to by Bose. Interestingly, today the Paundra Kshatriyas are much more interested in this ritual and listen to enjoy the story of the epic poems rather than listening to the erotic songs related to Radha and Krishna - as reported by a senior professional Vaisnava.

Leisure and entertainment at Amdabad, are still seasonally patterned because the village possesses only monocrop and the people are mostly dependent on agriculture and agricultural pursuits. The working season starts from the month of *Jaishtha* (May-June) and ceases in the month of *Shravana* (July-August) when the seedlings are transplanted. Again the farmers become busy in the month of *Agrahayana* (November-December) at the time of harvesting of the principal crop, paddy. By the month of *Magha* (January-February) paddy is stored. The agricultural land of this area is divided into two broad categories, *kala* i.e. high land and *jala* means low land. *Kala* land is limited and it grows multiple crops if water is available from ponds. After the harvesting of paddy there is shortage of work and the labourers seek job opportunities in the

neighbouring districts or even in the neighbouring state Orissa. The jobs are of various types like work in brick-kiln, Sawmill, road works etc. Labourers return to their own village again in the working season and also at the time of festivals like *Basanti mela*, *Durga mela* etc.

During the last few decades the tempo of socioeconomic changes has speeded up with the introduction of power tiller and high yielding variety of seeds in the agricultural sector. And there is considerable impact on the lives of individuals and societies as well as on the use of leisure. Due to such changes, most of the people have more and more free time and a greater reserve of mental and physical energy. However, problem of communication still exists in the village.

At present the media of entertainment have greatly changed. Radio and tape recorder are popular sorts of entertainment. Television is not popular as the village is only partly electrified. One can enjoy TV if one possesses electricity or solar energy facility. It was observed that when a TV set was on in the evening, a good number of people from the neighbouring houses gathered in front of it. Obviously the people are eager to enjoy cinema and film songs. They are quite interested in social stories than religious ones. After completion of the days's work the labourers also sit in front of the TV if available. Playing of cards is another important mode of entertainment. After the day's work people take some rest and then go to a nearby tea stall and play cards. Sometimes a good number of people just sit on the sides and enjoy the game. I observed a group of young boys playing cards and carrom in the late afternoon sitting in the club-room. All these clubs of Amdabad organise different tournaments, yatra and also take

active part in the village festivals on the occasions of Manasa puja and Sitala puja. Nowadays viewing of films on video is the most popular sort of entertainment. There are three temporary video parlours in the village. People, especially the young boys and girls are most keen to enjoy films on video. In all the ceremonial and festive occasions people try to arrange video shows. During my stay at Amdabad on the occasion of Ras-purnima there was a video show and it was arranged by the Puja Committee. The professional yatra parties are also active to stage their shows. One can book a yatra party, even from Nandakumar and Nimtouri towns some forty and thirtyfive kilometers from the village. While I was in the village one yatrapala entitled 'America Jwalche' was staged by the 'Digbijoy Opera' at the neighbouring village school maidan. There was huge crowd from all corners of the sourrounding villages. Demand of professional yatra has considerably increased and the yatra of the amateur party organised by the local clubs have automatically decreased. In all the cases the plays staged by the yatra parties are all either political or social in their contents. However, it is an interesting point to note that a few yatra parties organise forty minutes religious songs like Krishnagan before the actual play commences. Perhaps this was just to draw the attention of the tradition bound people who are more religious minded. Theatre is no more a source of entertainment in the village, it is performed only during Swaraswati puja. One informant told me that in case of simultaneous shows of theatre and video the people would go for the video shows. However, people are not interested in enjoying movie sitting in a cinema hall as the latter is far away from the village and they could get the taste of a movie in video sitting in the village itself.

From the above discussion it appears that Prof. Bose

rightly understood the indication of the taste of urbanization among the villagers and simultaneous decay of the traditional pattern of entertainment. Today the above phenomenon still persists. Caste-based traditional pattern of entertainment of the Patidara is no more on the scene, a fact, which Professor Bose predicted long back. However, the Vaishnavas are still active and attached to the religious songs expressing devotion to Radha Krishna as well as the recitation of the Bhagavata. There was a sharp decline in their profession a few years back but they have revived it recently. A young Vaishnava reported that he had made an agreement with a good number of clients for mohal for specified three months as desired by the party. The people of the older generation are aware of the fact that the age-old culture and tradition are vanishing but they are not able to check the erosion. The number of clubs has increased by the splitting of the old clubs but their style of function has greatly changed. Nowadays they arrange some tournaments and organise different festivals, while video shows and professional yatra get more preference instead of their own yatra and theatre. There are rivalries among the clubs in respect of drawing attention of the crowd in the mela. The libraries have failed to attract readers today even though education has spread. Advancement of education and social consciousness has generated a new kind of interest about religion. The aged literate persons meet at the market centre and tea stalls in the late afternoon for chitchat gossip, some times they enjoy themselves by sharing the reminiscences of the past. On the other hand the old farmers engage themselves in knitting of nets in their pastime. The most noticeable change in leisure style during the last forty-five years is the introduction of video shows. Through viewing video shows they learn about societies other than their own. This has become the key element of the art of imitating other cultures of urban type. However, because of the lack of infrastructural development in regard to communication and other urban amenities, the villagers still enjoy leisure with religious overtones at least to some extent as the village still is not easy to approach. Bose observed the competition between the old and the new types of entertainments in this peasant village. Today the competition is confined within the new types of entertainment and recreation.

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## Prof. N.K.Bose and Prehistoric Research in India: A Review

Tundra Basu

In 1923-24 P. Acharya first discovered a neolithic like artefact from Baidipur, Mayurbhanj. Later R.D.Banerjee also collected some implements from Baidipur and Kiching in 1930. In 1939 E.C.Worman (Jr.) a Research Fellow of the Harvard University first visited and discovered some palaeolithic sites near Baripada, Mayurbhanj. In 1940 Prof. N.K.Bose explored a site at Baripada and published his first paper in prehistoric archaeology on the prehistory of Mayurbhanj (1940). In 1941 he published a paper on the boulder conglomerate bed of Kuliana, Mayurbhanj. He showed that Kuliana was situated in the dried up bed of a tributary of the river Burhabalang. The section revealed that the upper bed was formed of pisolitic secondary laterite of varied thickness and this was underlain by a bed of compact boulder conglomerate with ferruginous matrix. The gravel bed and the secondary laterite contained tools of human manufacture. After these discoveries Prof. Bose along with his colleagues had visited Mayurbhanj sites several times for many years. They undertook excavation of a few sites with the help of the Department of Anthropology, University of Calcutta. As a result the famous book entitled Excavation on Mayurbhanj (1948) was published by the University of Calcutta along with Prof. D.Sen and Prof. G.S.Ray. This attempt of Prof. Bose resulted into a pioneering work on the part of an Indian university in excavating a prehistoric site. It showed new methods of studying palaeolithic assemblages as an integral part of stratigraphic background. After that Prof. Bose published a few papers on prehistory, which were written on the different stratigraphical and cultural aspects of the tool-types of Mayurbhanj (1958a, 1958b). Late Rathindranath Tagore discovered very well made handaxes (1946) from Monghyr. Fourteen years after this discovery Bose, Gupta and Basu (1960) collected six palaeolithic artefacts from there and placed them in the Acheulian series on the basis of typology.

As a graduate student of Geology and a teacher of Human Geography Prof. Bose was very much interested in prehistory from the very beginning of his career. His important study on the prehistory of Mayurbhanj has been considered as a guideline in the study of Indian prehistory to the scholars. The present author likes to discuss here some salient features of the excavation in Mayurbhanj.

#### Discussion:

Prof. N.K.Bose and others explored fourteen sites in Mayurbhanj. Different varieties of palaeolithic implements, which included 81, pebble tools, 539 core-tools and 43 flake tools were discovered from different areas. Among all these sites only four sites were excavated and discussed in detail. They stated that all the sites in Mayurbhanj were mainly deposits of detrital laterite. In spite of that there were a few sites, which showed clear straitigraphical sequences. In all the four sites the palaeolithic tools were available from the deposit of secondary laterite. The thickness of the deposition of secondary laterite varied and the depth decreased, away from the valley. Two different types of sections were available at Kuliana. One section is situated in the main valley and the other section is on the tributary of the river Burhabalang. Here the detrital products of primary laterite came down along the slope and were accumulated in the valley. As regards the stratigraphy of Kuliana main valley the bottom layer appeared to be some form of

decomposed schist. Above this a bed of primary laterite with certain similarities of Nuaberi section is visible. Prof. Bose attempted to find out mineralogical difference between lower and upper layer of laterite. It had been observed that boulder conglomerate beds were available in Kuliana and Kamarpal river valley sites. The deposition of the secondary laterite was relatively on higher ground and the deposition of boulder bed along the valley had been correlated and appeared to be same in date. On the basis of the study of the Burhabalang River, it was suggested that the boulder conglomerate beds indicated a large carrying capacity of the river, which was possible during pluvial times. Thus the entire section of the river suggested a succession of pluvial and dry condition. In all the sections the deposit of secondary laterite was yielding artefacts. It is clear from the available data that the secondary laterite deposits are relatively developed and are comparable with the tools found from the boulder conglomerate bed at Kamarpal and Kuliana. Here the observations of Ghosh & Basu (1969) at Baripada and Kuliana should be mentioned. These show thick section of secondary laterite containing different types of palaeoliths at different dates. This bed was covered by brown clay. At the junction of the laterite and clay bed, flake implements were coming out which were typo- technologically different from the earlier collection. They mentioned for the first time the availability of flake-blade implements from clay bed.

Tools found from Mayurbhanj may be grouped into two heads i) tools found in situ, (ii) tools found on the surface. A total of 57 numbers of tools was in situ and may be grouped into four main groups on the basis of typology. They are chopper (10), handaxe (28), cleaver (10) and scraper (9). The figures show that the industry here was dominated by handaxe. It had been established that the in situ tools were unearthed from

secondary laterite from all the sites. It may be said that these tools were deposited in a certain period. So it may be inferred that all the tools belonged to a broad time range. The palaeolithic tools collected from Mayurbhanj were mainly from a core industry with an addition of pebbles and a small admixture of flakes with the high flaking angle and unfacetted striking platform. Handaxes and choppers predominate and ovate and oblong types of handaxes with better flaking techniques are available. Crude knives with roughly straight and parallel sides were collected. Clactonian flakes and crude Levalloisian flakes were reported. It had been noticed that new methods of flaking, skilled in secondary retouch or new tools like the cleavers indicate the typological development. The majority of the crude implements were collected from the lower part of the boulder conglomerate bed. They were prepared simply by removing only a few flakes and a large part of the tools were provided with the original cortex. According to Prof. Bose and others the Mayurbhanj tools belonged to an earlier facies of the evolved Abevellian-Acheulean types of bifaces to evolved Acheulean types. It is evident that a typo-technological development of tools occurred in a chrono-cultural context in Mayurbhanj. This development of tool-types was shown by Bose et al (1958a) in the river section of Kamarpal.

### **Conclusion:**

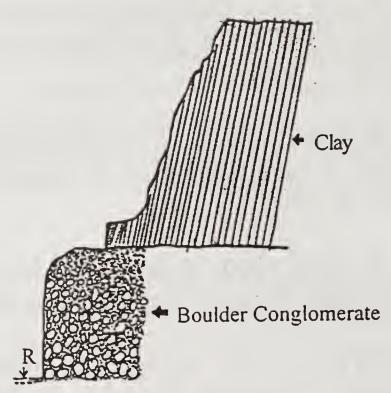
It may be said from the above observation that the lower limit of the Mayurbhanj Palaeolithic industry is not earlier than lower Pleistocene. It belongs primarily to a core industry. The earliest tools seem to have been choppers with straight or convex working edge. The chopping edge does not show any secondary retouch. Bifaces of irregular form and flake tools with unprepared striking platforms are available. Neatly worked bifaces and well prepared cleavers were found in course of excavation. Side-scrapers smaller in size and made on flakes were also reported. Prof. Bose had stated that there might be some small flake implements, which may escape the attention of the team, as they gave much importance to large and finished implements.

It has been observed from the geo-morphological point that the river Burhabalang and its tributaries yielded boulder conglomerate bed in their banks, which is provided with crude choppers and bifaces. The neatly prepared implements are available from the detrital laterite deposition on the main valley away from the river. It is now the task of the future research scholars to correlate these two types of deposition in its chronocultural context in Mayurbhanj.

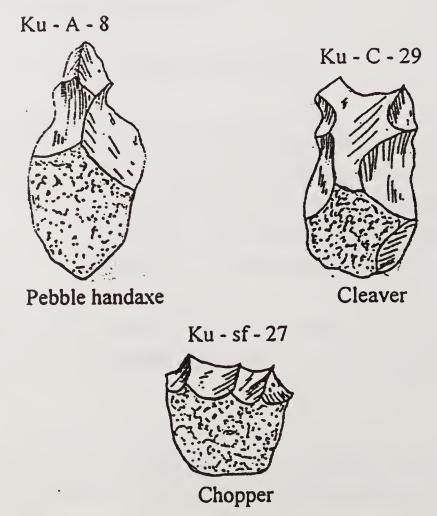
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A Section of the river Burhabalang at Kamarpal



Some implements collected from Mayurbhanj by Prof. N.K. Bose

# Bose on the Unity of Indian Society and Culture\*

N.K.Behura K.K.Mohanti

Professor Bose is a nationalist and in fact, he is a nationalist scholar par excellence. It would be unfair to brand him as only a nationalist scholar. He is an eclectic scholar. His range of knowledge cannot be fathomed. He is a veritable scholar in geology, geography, prehistoric archaeology, art history and anthropology — an extended range. He is a very penetrative observer of Indian society and culture. While intensely participating in the freedom movement of India, he travelled extensively to different parts of the country. During his travels he paid equal attention to all the three important segments of Indian society. In other words, he observed tribal society, village communities and urban societies very critically in order to study the unity and diversity in Indian society and culture.

As an outstanding scholar he was of the opinion that while studying the cultural development of the country the importance of its geographical factor has to be properly assessed. During the early periods of human civilisation historical and geographical factors determined to a large extent the lives and activities of people. Bose has very rightly emphasized the geographical factors, the history of a society and it is true of India. Human are dependent on their physical environment for survival and while trying to cope with nature, they are often hindered by the limitations imposed by physical factors. In case of India, Bose has found that the history of the country has

<sup>\*</sup> The paper was received after the seminar was concluded.

been shaped by its geographical conditions. He writes that the "interplay of the forces of geography and of human will and genius is indeed a subject of great interest" and in case of India geography has played its decisive role. The physical phenomena which have directly and indirectly shaped the history and civilisation of India are the vastness of the country, comparative isolation or protection provided by the Himalayas, a long coastline and the two mountain ranges, the Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats running along the coastline. Besides, temperature, seasonal rainfall, quality of soil and extensive alluvial plain in the north and a plateau of steppe or Savannah and tropical forests have influenced the style of life of people. The country is interspersed with certain major rivers at regular intervals, both on eastern and western sides. The river valleys have provided appropriate sites for human settlements.

Bose has taken into consideration both geographical and historical factors so as to analyse Indian civilisation. Like other scholars he maintains that the Sindhu and the Ganga were the principal seats or early Indian civilisation, the mountain vastness lying to the south and the numerous valleys and deltas in the southern peninsula harbour more ancient regional civilisations which in course of time enriched the totality of Indian civilisation of later times.

According to Professor Bose, "the term 'Culture' is pervasive and comprehensive which comprises everything from the traditional manner in which people produce, cook or eat their food; the way in which they plan and build their houses; or arrange them on the surface of the land; to social moral and religions values which are generally accepted by men, and also habitual methods by means of which satisfaction is gained in respect of their higher qualities of the mind" (1937:6). Bose

says that insularity has made India develop into a distinctive political and cultural unit, the vast dimensions, varied physical features and variety of climate tended to effect different zones with different racial and linguistic peculiarities and different regional spirits, fostering fissiparous tendencies. Physical features and climatic conditions have affected the lives and habits of the people, influenced their character and mental makeup and invested them with distinctive characteristics. Yet all the people of the country are bound up in the cultural unity by sharing several common features. "The country has harboured", exhorts Bose, "in her spacious bosom, from prehistoric times, various races and cultures, both immigrant and autochthonous from the Old Stone Age cultures to those of Austric, Dravidian, Aryan and Mongoloid," (1937:7) India has always been an integral geographical unity in spite of her vastness and variety. Bose emphatically writes that the magic spell of Indian unity in the midst of diversity has impressed itself on all the local and regional cultures including those of the people who came into the country at later historic times. There has been a vast synthesis of diverse cultures in the country. Suitable climate, fertility of the soil and bounteous nature have induced the Indian people to take to agriculture and other peaceful pursuits. Abundance of water and warm climate have influenced the daily habits of the people uniformly. Flora and fauna have also permeated the national religious life in a very intimate manner. Certain trees and plants are abodes of supernatural beings. Birds and animals are the vehicles of gods and goddesses. From this it is evident that geographical features have exercised considerable influence on the life and activities of the people. On the basis of these facts Bose says that the geographical features in their totality have made the whole of India as an object of supreme reverence. Indian attitude holds mother and the motherland as greater than heaven.

Bose maintains that the hallmark of Indian civilisation is the unit of economic and social organisation. Organisation of production which has been built up in India has immensely contributed to the unity of Indian civilisation. The system of planning production in India through hereditary guilds has been a unifying force. Caste system is an anathema yet it has contributed to the unity of Indian society. The caste system is not wholly an organisation of trade guilds. It was underlain by a foundation of productive organisation in the past when land was abundant, population was low, economic dislocations occurring locally through unequal growth of various castes that could be overcome by migration to unoccupied land where a replica could be created of the complementary set of castes as in the home territory.

The protection which was afforded to the rural population by the system was indeed great, because the productive efficiency of the system which planned both specialised production and equitable distribution in this manner, was far above the arrangements prevalent elsewhere. The majority of the Indian population residing in villages adopted the unity of the hereditary monopolistic guild system with attendant traditions regarding payment through goods and services. Class distinctions of privilege in the villages were less conspicuous or absent. The same productive system built up by Brahmanical genius eventually bound together the whole of India in its protective compass.

In course of historical time, "Conquests and the growth of States which owned land and leased on rent gradually introduced new elements into the rural system of production until the productive organisation became merged not only by its inability to cope with famine due to the growth of population but also by its social inequality and oppression" (Bose, 1937: 12). Bose maintains that though the backwardness and inequalities have been accentuated with the passage of time, it did not lead to revolutions of any appreciable dimension. He explains this phenomenon by referring to the fertility of land and economic organisation associated with the caste system which affords a measure of security amidst political turmoil. Bose asserts that even Buddhism has no substitute for the productive organisation which was associated with caste. Bose writes, "Even the Muslim population of rural India, as well as the aboriginal tribes who inhabit the hills and jungles of interior India, have adopted some of the elements which characterize caste, such as the high status given to certain occupations, in place of others, and the ease and the rapidity with which culturally distinguishable communities adopt the custom of endogamy. This attraction of the caste system is there not because of Brahmanical rulers have forced it upon communities outside the Hindu fold, but because of the protectiveness and industrial efficiency which were slowly built up, in course of time" (1937:12).

Bose conceptualised the structure of Indian unity as pyramidal in nature. He emphasized, "there is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less as one mounts higher and higher" (1961, Introduction). The implication of this is that village people are more different from one another than city people or sophisticated and propertied classes. There is more variety at the material base of Indian society and unity of Indian society spirals into an emotional unity at the top. In the Indian context on the basis of castebased economic tradition and efficiency a kind of unity

encompasses geographically distinct regions of India. This unity tapers upward through social structure to an ideological unity at the top. India although, by and large overwhelmingly illiterate, there are mechanisms of oral tradition and cultural communication by means of which common intellectual and emotional elements are fostered. The same could be brought to the door of the most distant communities, isolated either by geographical factors or by social structural criteria.

The structure of Indian civilisation persists through an interplay of great and little traditions. The social organisation of tradition is based on an evolutionary point of view. Indian civilisation grows in two stages, first through orthogenic or indigenous civilisation, which is linear and then the second through heterogenetic encounters or contacts through other cultures or civilisations. The unity of Indian civilisation is maintained by its cultural structure which perpetuates a unity of world-view through cultural performances and their products. The cultural performances are institutionalized around the social structure of both little and great traditions. Due to the persistent and important arrangement of roles and statuses appearing in corporate groups of castes and sects; recitors, poets, ritual performers and leaders of one kind or the other are concerned with the cultivation and inculcation of cultural traditions. Bose writes that the wandering mendicants or parivrajaka and philosophers who went from court to court played the role of dissemination of a common system of traditions all over the land. He further says that "The Parivrajaka wandered the country breaking geographical barriers" (1937:13).

The duty of such mendicants was to wander from one place of pilgrimage to other or from one forest retreat or

mountain retreat to another as a part of their religious discipline. In addition, the custom of reading the holy scriptures or their vernacular renderins with stories from the epics: The Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Bhagavata Gita in rural India was useful in familiarizing the people who cut across castes and communities.

The system of pilgrimage and the habit of listening to sacred and moral reading whether at one's own home or at the village centre or acts of propitiating common gods and goddesses at village or community shrines have bound together the Indian population in a deep sense of cultural unity.

Bose exhorts that in spite of the fact that the languages and religious sects of India are many and there are well marked differences between one regional culture and another, yet there is an over all unit of design which binds the people into one national family. "This stems primarily from economic and social organisation of the country, and reaches over to a community of intellectual and emotional attachments and obligations. The details might vary from place to place, and from one caste to another, yet at the sameness of traditions on which all have been reared cannot be denied" (1937: 15). In his study and analysis of Indian civilisation Bose shuttles between local, regional and national panorama as a visionary. His empirical understanding of Indian society, and culture is so strong that he has been able to assimilate the ethos of Indian society. In most of his writings the unity of Indian society, culture and civilisation overlays the mundane facts. His masterly analysis. of the interplay between local indigenous traditions and the great traditions is empirically and analytically sound and perfect. His mode of analysis is in conformity with that of Milton Singer.

He was conscious of the fact that the structure of Indian civilisation consists of folk or little traditions and the elitist great traditions. The implication of his analysis is that at the local and regional levels the nature of evolution of traditions is orthogenic or indigenous and at the higher level there is contact between traditions and as a result there is heterogenetic evolution or changes in traditions.

Bose clearly writes, "the kind of unity of culture which built up in the past belonged to a climate of peace. It was unsuited to cope with the disaster of war. If nationalism in the West has created a uniformity, and an eradication of regional distinctiveness, it has done so more for the purpose of military survival that for serving the ends of peace. ... For India did succeed in her experiment of building up, within her own borders, a unique system of production and distribution, and the way of bringing together many systems of thought into confederation of cultures" (1937:16). In the Indian situation the human mind has risen above and beyond the limitations set by geographical boundaries and has built up an ideal of cultural fraternity. Bose concludes, "this is based on a statutory recognition of need for mutual aid between groups pursuing economic ends under total social control, which would remain one of most distinctive and original, though imperfect, contribution to the world civilisation" (1937:16).

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## নির্মলকুমার বসু প্রণীত

### বাংলা ভাষায় প্রকাশিত রচনাবলী

> 1	5000	ভূমিকম্পের কথা। নব্যভারত, আশ্বিন, ৪১শ খণ্ডঃ ৬ষ্ঠঃ সংখ্যা।
२।	5000	উড়িয়া শিল্পশাস্ত্র। নব্যভারত, ফাল্পুন, ৪১ শ খন্ড : ১১ শ সংখ্যা।
७।	<i>&gt;00&gt;</i>	উড়িয়া মন্দির । নব্যভারত, অগ্রহায়ণ, ৪২ শ খন্ড : ৮ম সংখ্যা, ৩৮০- ৩৮৪, সচিত্র।
8	১७७२	হো-দের কথা। মুকুল, অগ্রহায়ণ।
œ1	১৩৩৩	সেরাইকেলা রাজ্যের হো- জাতি। উত্তরা, ভাদ্র, ১ম বর্ষ: ১২শ সংখ্যা। বীরভূম সাহিত্য সন্মিলনীর বিজ্ঞান শাখায় পঠিত।
ঙা	>७७७	কণারকের বিবরণ। কলিকাতা, প্রিয়রঞ্জন সেনগুপ্ত, ব্রাহ্ম মিশন প্রেস। ১৪০পৃ:। সংস্করণ : কলিকাতা, পুরোগামী প্রকাশনী।।, ১১৪পৃ:, সচ্তির, ২৩.৫ সে. মি।
91	५७७१	ভারত ইতিহাসের এক অধ্যায়। অভী:, মাঘ।
b	১৩৩৭	রবীন্দ্রনাথের সাধনা। যুগশঙ্খ, ১ম বর্ষ: ১০ম সংখ্যা। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (২য় সং: ১৩৫৬ ) গ্রন্থে পুর্ণমুদ্রিত।
91	১৩৩৭	ভয় ভাঙ্গার উপায়। যুগশঙ্খ, ১ম বর্ষ : ১৫শ সংখ্যা । 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (২য় সং: ১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুণর্মুদ্রিত।
201	५७७१	স্বাধীনতার অধিকার। যুগশঙ্খ, ১ম বর্য: ২০শ সংখ্যা।
>>1	১৩৩৭	নবীন ও প্রচীন। কলিকাতা আর্য সাহিত্য ভবন। ৭২পৃ:, ১৫.৫ সে.মি। (পরিবর্ধিত সংস্করণ: কলিকাতা, বেঙ্গল পাবলিশার্স, ১৩৫৬। ২৬ পৃ:, ১৮.৫ সে.মি। যদিও ইহা প্রথম সংস্করণ বলিয়া বর্ণিত)
ऽ२।	<b>\$00</b> F	উড়িয্যার মন্দির। প্রবাসী, আষাঢ়, ৩১শ ভাগ : ১ম খন্ড: তয় সংখ্যা, ৩৩৮-৩৪৯, সচ্চিত্র।
५७।	<b>500</b> 6	রাজপুতানার মন্দির। প্রবাসী, আশ্বিন, ৩১শ ভাগ: ১ম খন্ড: ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা,

৭৭৪-৩৪৯, সচ্চিত্র।

- ১৪। ১৩৩৮ মধ্যভারতের মন্দির। প্রবাসী, অগ্রহায়ণ, ৩১শ ভাগ: ২য় খণ্ড: ২য় সংখ্যা, ২৩২-২৩৬, সচ্চিত্র।
- ১৫। ১৩৩৮ হিমালয় অঞ্চলের মন্দির। প্রবাসী, মাঘ, ৩১শ ভাগ: ২য় খন্ড: ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ৪৯৮-৫০২, সচ্চিত্র।
- ১৬। ১৩৩৮ শ্রীযুক্ত বীরকিশোর মহান্তি। বাণী, মাঘ। 'কবি' নামে শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন ১৩৪১ সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১৭। ১৩৪০ স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ। ভাবীকাল, আষাঢ়। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১ম সং:১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে 'সূচনা' নামে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১৮। ১৩৪০ মানভূম জেলার মন্দির। প্রবাসী, ভাদ্র, ৩৩শ ভাগ: ১ম খণ্ড : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৬১৭-৬২২, সচিত্র।
- ১৯। ১৩৪০ জুয়াঙ্গ জাতি। প্রবাসী, আশ্বিন, ৩৩শ ভাগ: ১ম খণ্ড: ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৮০৪-৮০৯, সচ্ত্রি। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২০। ১৩৪০ কোণার্কের মন্দির। প্রবাসী, কার্ত্তিক, ৩৩শ ভাগ: ২য় খণ্ড: ১ম সংখ্যা, ১২-১৭, সচিত্র। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৪৯) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। 'বিশাল ভারত' ( হিন্দী) অক্টোবর ১৯৩৪ সংখ্যায় হিন্দীতে অনুদিত ও প্রকাশিত।
- ২১। ১৩৪০ ধনিক ও শ্রমিক। দেশ, অগ্রহায়ণ ৮, ১ম বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ২৮-২৯ ও ৩৮।
- ২২। ১৩৪০ গান্ধী বানী : মানবের দু:খ ও তাহা নিবারণের উপায়। দেশ, অগ্রহায়ণ ১৬, ১ম বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ১৮-২০।
- ২৩। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ : যন্ত্রযুগ ও বর্তমান সভ্যতা। দেশ, পৌষ ২৯, ১ম বর্ষ : ৮ম সংখ্যা, ৪১-৪২।
- ২৪। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ : রাষ্ট্রের পরিকল্পনা। দেশ, মাঘ ৬, ১ম বর্ষ: ৯ম সংখ্যা, ৬৪-৬৫।

- ২৫। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ : ভারতীয় স্বরাজের উপায়। দেশ, মাঘ ১৩, ১ম বর্ষ : ১০ম সংখ্যা, ২৩-২৪।
- ২৬। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ : অহিংসা। দেশ, মাঘ ২৭, ১ম বর্ষ : ১২ম সংখ্যা, ৩০-৩১।
- ২৭। ১৩৪০ নুলিয়া জাতি : প্রবাসী, ফাল্গুন, ৩৩শ ভাগ : ২য় খণ্ড : ৫ সংখ্যা, ৫৯৬-৬০০, সচ্চিত্র। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। 'বিশাল ভারত' ( হিন্দী ) অগস্ট ১৯৩৭ সংখ্যায় হিন্দীতে অনূদিত ও প্রকাশিত।
- ২৮। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ। দেশ, ফাল্পুন ৫, ১ম বর্ষ : ১৩শ সংখ্যা, ১৮-১৯।
- ২৯। ১৩৪০ গান্ধীবাদ। দেশ, ফাল্পুন ২৬, ১ম বর্ষ : ১৬শ সংখ্যা, ২৩-২৪।
- ৩০। ১৩৪০ ধৃতরাষ্ট্র বিলাপ। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ৬ষ্ঠ বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৫৪৩-৫৪৭। 'সঞ্জয়' ছদ্মনামে লিখিত।
- ৩১। ১৩৪১ ভুবনেশ্বর। প্রবাসী, বৈশাখ, ৩৪শ ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৩৫-৪০, সচিত্র।
- ৩২। ১৩৪১ নুলিয়া সমাজ । প্রবাসী, শ্রাবণ, ৩৪শ ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ৪৬৪-৪৭০, সচিত্র।
- ৩৩। ১৩৪১ খ্যাতির পিপাসা। শনিবারের চিঠি, ভাদ্র, ৬ষ্ঠ বর্ষ: ১১শ সংখ্যা, ১৩৬১-১৩৬৪ (অনামা প্রকাশন)। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে 'তৃষ্ণা' নামে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৩৪। ১৩৪১ কমিউনিজম ও গান্ধীবাদ। বঙ্গশ্রী, আশ্বিন, ২য় বর্ষ, ২য় খন্ড: ২য় সংখ্যা.২৬৫-২৬৯।
- ৩৫। ১৩৪১ গান্ধী ও জাতীয়তাবাদ। ভাবীকাল, পৌষ, ২য় বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা।
- ৩৬। ১৩৪১ কবি। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ৭ম বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৫৩৭-৫৪১। পূর্বে 'খ্রীযুক্ত বীরকিশোর মহান্তি' নামে বানী, মাঘ ১৩৩৮ সংখ্যায় প্রকাশিত। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১ম সং:১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

সাধু। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ৭ম বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৬৯০-৬৯৭। 190 2085 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১ম সং:১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। শিল্পী। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ৭ম বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৬৯৮-৭০২। 2085 140 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১ম সং:১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : দেশসেবক। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ৭ম বর্ষ: 021 ५७८२ ৭ম সংখ্যা, ৭-১৩। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : অধ্যাপক । শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ৭ম বর্ষ : 801 5082 ৭ম সংখ্যা, ১৩-১৭। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১ম সং :১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনমুদ্রিত। চিঠি (শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ১৩৪১ সংখ্যায় প্রকাশিত লেখকের 'সাধু' 5085 851 গল্পটির সমালোচনার উত্তর ) । শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ৭ম বর্ষ : १म मर्था, ৯১-৯২। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী: ধাওতাল উবাওঁ বনের সংবাদ। শনিবারের চিঠি, 5085 821 আষাঢ়, ৭ম বর্ষ: ৯ম সংখ্যা। ভারতের নৃতত্ত্বচর্চার একটি অধ্যায়। পঞ্চম জর্জের ২৫ বৎসর 5085 108 রাজত্বকালের পূর্ত্তি উপলক্ষে জুবিলী গ্রন্থে প্রকাশিত। প্রবাসী। বাঙালীর চরিত্র। প্রবাসী, আযাঢ়, ৩৫শ ভাগ : ১ম খন্ড : ৩য় সংখ্যা, 5085 881 ৪১৭-৪২০। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনমুর্দ্রিত। বাঙালীর চরিত্র। দেশ, শ্রাবণ ২৫, ২য় বর্ষ : ৩৮শ সংখ্যা, ৬২-৬৪। 861 5085 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। বাঙালীর স্থাপত্য। প্রবাসী, আশ্বিন, ৩৫শ ভাগ: ১ম খণ্ড: ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, 5085 8७। ৮১৫-৮২০, সচিত্র। নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। মহাত্মা গান্ধীর সঙ্গে কথোপকথন। দেশ, আশ্বিন ১১, Modern Re-891 5085 view (1935) এ প্রকাশিত লেখকের 'An interview with Gandhi' প্রবন্ধের বঙ্গানুবাদ। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

- ৪৮। ১৩৪২ বাঙালীর সমাজ । দেশ, অগ্রাহায়ণ ৭, ৩য় বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৩৯-৪০। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৪৯। ১৩৪২ হিন্দু সোসিয়ালিজম ? প্রবাসী, পৌষ, ৩৫শ ভাগ : ২য় খণ্ড : ৩য় সংখ্যা, ৩৫৭-৩৬০। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬ ) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৫০। ১৩৪২ মহাত্মা গান্ধীর 'বর্ণাশ্রম' এবং কমিউনিজম। দেশ, পৌষ ৫, ৩য় বর্ষ :
  ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৩৩১-৩৩৫। প্রথমার্ধ 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে
  পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৫১। ১৩৪২ ভারতের রাজনীতিক্ষেত্রে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর দান। দেশ,পৌষ ১২, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৪১৬-৪২০। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৫২। ১৯৩৬ " অবনত" জাতির সামাজিক আন্দোলন। নৃতন পত্রিকা, ফেব্রুয়ারী
   ১৪। 'বর্ধমান বার্তা পত্রিকা, অক্টোবর ১৪, ১৯৩৯ সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
   'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৫৩। ১৯৩৬ বাংলার ভূতত্ত্ব। প্রভাত কুমার মুখোপাধ্যায় রচিত 'বঙ্গ পরিচয়';
   (কলিকাতা, ১৯৩৬) ১ম খণ্ডের অন্তর্গত। পৃ: ৮-১২। ( হুযীকেশ সিরিজ)
- ৫৪। ১৩৩৬ বাংলার নৃতত্ত্ব। প্রভাত কুমার মুখোপাধ্যায় রচিত 'বঙ্গ পরিচয়'; (কলিকাতা, ১৯৩৬) ১ম খণ্ডের অন্তর্গত । পৃ: ২৭-৩১। (হ্যযীকেশ সিরিজ)
- ৫৫। ১৩৪৩ নৃতত্ত্বের পরিচয়। দেশ, বৈশাখ ১২। এপ্রিল ১৪, ১৯৩৬। কলিকাতা
  বেতার কেন্দ্র ইইতে প্রদত্ত কথিকা। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন ' ( ২য় সং :
  ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৫৬। ১৩৪৩ নারী। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ।
- ৫৭। ১৩৪৩ পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : চইতা। শনিবারের চিঠি, জ্যৈষ্ঠ। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

মানুষের আচার ও সমাজ। দেশ, জ্যৈষ্ঠ ৯, ৩য় বর্ষ : ২৭শ সংখ্যা, 661 2080 ১৭২-১৭৪। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : সন্মাসী। শনিবারের চিঠি, আষাঢ় । 'পরিব্রাজকের 2080 163 ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। আন্দামানের অধিবাসী। দেশ, জ্যৈষ্ঠ ৩০, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৩০শ সংখ্যা, ৩৪৭-50 I 2080 ৩৪৯ ও ৩৬০। বর্ণাশ্রম ও জাতিভেদ সম্বন্ধে মহাত্মা গান্ধীর মত। সংহতি, আষাঢ়। 451 2080 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। বীরভূমে দুর্ভিক্ষ। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, শ্রাবণ ২০। 2080 ७२। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : অজয় নদী। শনিবারের চিঠি, ভাদ্র। 'নবীন ও 501 2080 প্রাচীন' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। মহাত্মা গান্ধী বলসেভিজম ও বিপ্লববাদ। পত্র, শ্রাবণ ৩০। স্বরাজ ও **68** | 2080 গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। টলস্টয়ের লেখা শেষ প্রবন্ধ। দেশ, ভাদ্র ১৩, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৪১শ সংখ্যা, 561 2080 ২৮৪-২৮৮। [ Leo Tolstoy : on Socialism. The Hegarth Press, 1936 ]. পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : স্বস্তিক। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন। পরিব্রাজকের ७७। 2080 ডায়েরী (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। অহিংস অসহযোগের স্বরাপ । পত্র, আশ্বিন ১৬ । 'স্বরাজ ७१। 2080 'গান্ধীবাদ'(১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। চম্বা ভ্রমণ । দেশ, শারদীয় সংখ্যা, আশ্বিন ৩১, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৪৮শ সংখ্যা ৬৮। 2080 , ৮০৫-৮০৯, সচিত্র। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী, কলিকাতা, মডার্ণ বুক এজেন্সী কর্ত্তক পরীক্ষামূলকভাবে প্রকাশিত সংস্করণে পুনর্মুদ্রিত হয় ও কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের ম্যাট্রিকুলেশন পরীক্ষায় দ্রুতপঠনের জন্য মঞ্জুর করাইবার

চেষ্টা হয়। পরে ঐ গ্রন্থটি বাজারে বাহির করা হয় নাই।

মহাত্মা গান্ধী। বিষাণ , ২য় বর্ষ : ১১শ সংখ্যা। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' ৬৯। 2080 ( ১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : আব্দুল গফফর খান : মশরুরের সাধু। শনিবারেব 5080 901 চিঠি, চৈত্ৰ। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : তুলসীদা। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ৯ম বর্ষ : 931 2088 ৭ম সংখ্যা, ২৩-২৭ । 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। শিল্পের মূল। বঙ্গশ্রী, বৈশাখ, ৫ম বর্ষ : ১ম খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ৪৯৬-5088 921 ৪৯৭। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৯৪৯) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : বুদরো। শনিবারের চিঠি, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ৯ম বর্ষ : ৮ম 109 5088 সংখ্যা, ২২১-২২৪। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনমুর্দ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : রঘুয়া। শনিবারের চিঠি, শ্রাবণ, ৯ম বর্ষ : ১০ 981 2088 ম সংখ্যা, ৪৮১-৪৮৪। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। উত্তর ভারতের মন্দির । দেশ। শারদীয় সংখ্যা। 961 2088 শিল্পী যামিনী রায়ের মতবাদ । আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, আশ্বিন, শারদীয় >088 961 সংখ্যা। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন ' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৪৯) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। গান্ধী জয়ন্তী। পত্ৰ, কাৰ্তিক ৮ । বালি কংগ্ৰেস কমিটির তত্তাবধানে 991 2088 আহুত সভায় প্রদত্ত ভাষণ। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' ( ১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। রাঁচী জেলার একটি উৎসব। প্রবাসী, কার্তিক, ৩৭শ ভাগ : ২য় খণ্ড : >088 961 ১ম সংখ্যা, ৩৪-৩৮, সচিত্র। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন ' ( ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : ইতিহাসের গবেষণা। শনিবারের চিঠি, অগ্রহায়ণ 2088 168 , ১০ম বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ২৫৫-২৬১, সচিত্র। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' ( ১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

সত্যাগ্রহের দার্শনিক ভিত্তি ও কৌশল। প্রবাসী, মাঘ,৩৭শ ভাগ : ২য় 8804 401 খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা ৪৬৩-৪৬৯। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' ( ১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনমুর্দ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : সমুদ্র। শনিবারের চিঠি, মাঘ, ১০ম বর্ষ : ৪র্থ 5088 631 সংখ্যা, ৫০০-৫০৪। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী (১৩৪৭ ) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। প্রাচীন কলিঙ্গের একটি গ্রাম। প্রবাসী, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ৩৮শ ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : b21 3806 ২য় সংখ্যা, ১৭৯-১৮৭, সচিত্র। বিহারে বাঙালী। প্রবাসী, শ্রাবণ, ৩৮ শু ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, 100 3806 ৪৬৮-৪৭১। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : রাজপুত্র। শনিবারের চিঠি, ভাদ্র, ১০ম বর্ষ : b81 3806 ১১শ সংখ্যা, ৭৩৩-৭৩৯। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : স্বর্গের সংবাদ। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন, ১০ম 3806 134 বর্ষ : ১২শ সংখ্যা ৯৩৯-৯৪৪। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনমুদ্রিত। মন্দিরের কথা। অলকা, কার্তিক, ১ম বর্ষ : ২য় সখ্যা। b61 3806 পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : সাহিত্য সভা। শনিবারের চিঠি, ১১ শ বর্ষ : 3086 691 ৩য় সংখ্যা, ৩৭০-৩৭৩। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। উড়িষ্যায় প্রাপ্ত একখানি সচিত্র পুঁথি। প্রবাসী, মাঘ, ৩৮শ ভাগ : ২য় 3806 bb1 খণ্ড: ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ৫৯২-৫৯৫, সচিত্র। উড়িষ্যার দেওয়ালে আঁকা ছবি। অলকা, মাঘ। 3806 b31 পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : কোলেদের দেশ। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ১১শ 201 3806 বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৬৭৪-৬৭৮। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। সরাইকলা-রাজ্যে তৈল-নিদ্ধাশন যন্ত্র। সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, ৪৫শ বর্ষ 221 3806

### : ৩য় সংখ্যা, ১৬৯-১৭৯, সচিত্র।

- ৯২। ১৩৪৬ সিংভূম জেলায় প্রাচীনকালের মানব। প্রবাসী, বৈশাখ, ৩৯শ ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৪০-৪৪, সচিত্র।
- ৯৩। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহ কি নিস্ফল? পত্র, জুন, ৮। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৯৪। ১৯৩৯ গান্ধীজী কি হিংসামাত্রকেই ভয় পান? পত্র, জুন ১৫। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৯৫। ১৩৪৬ পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : বসন্ত। শনিবারের চিঠি, আষাঢ়, ১১শ বর্ষ : ৯ম সংখ্যা, ৩৪৩-৩৪৪। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭)গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ৯৬। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহের নিয়ম : (১) আত্মশুদ্ধি ও সম্মিলিত চেষ্টা। পত্র, জুন ২২। স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত ।
- ৯৭। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহের নিয়ম : কাহারা সত্যাগ্রহ করিবে, (২) বিশ্বাস। পত্র, জুন ২৯। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত ।
- ৯৮। তা.না. ভারতবর্ষের বিভিন্ন অংশের অধিবাসী। শরৎ চন্দ্র দত্ত রচিত ' বিজ্ঞান ও ভূগোল' গ্রন্থের অন্তর্গত।
- ৯৯। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহের নিয়ম । পত্র, জুলাই ৬। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১০০। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহের নিয়ম। পত্র, অগস্ট ২৪। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদিত।
- ১০১। ১৩৪৬ মন্দিরের অন্তর । সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, ৪৬শ বর্ষ ২য় সংখ্যা, ৯১-৯৮, সচিত্র।
- ১০২। ১৩৪৬ পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : শহর। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন, ১১শ বর্ষ : ১২শ সংখ্যা, ৮৯৬-৮৯৯ । 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১০৩। ১৯৩৯ সত্যাগ্রহের নিয়ম। পত্র, নভেম্বর ২। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪)

# গ্ৰন্থে পুনৰ্মুদিত।

\$081	১৯৩৯	তপম্বিনীর কাহিনী। পত্র, নভেম্বর ২। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>&gt;</b> 0&	<b>&gt;</b> 086	বিদ্যার ব্যবহার। শনিবারের চিঠি, পৌষ, ১২শ বর্ষ: ৩য় সংখ্যা, ৩২৭- ৩৩৫। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। কলিকাতা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ে এ্যানথ্রোপলজিক্যাল ইনষ্টিটিউটে প্রদত্ত বক্তৃতা।
১०७।	<b>&gt;</b> 08७	পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : উৎসব। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ১২শ বর্ষ: ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৮৬৫-৮৭১। 'পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী' (১৩৪৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>\$</b> 091	>>80	রবীন্দ্রনাথের ছবি। দেশ, বৈশাখ ৮। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (২য় সং ১৯৪৯) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
2021	<b>&gt;</b> 089	তৈল নিষ্কাশনের আরও কয়েকটি উপায়। সাহিত্য পরিষৎ পত্রিকা, ৪৭ শ বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৪১-৪৬, সচিত্র।
५०७।	<b>&gt;</b> 089	সমাজ ও রাষ্ট্রের শাসন সঙ্কোচ। বর্ধমান বাঁতা, আশ্বিন ১৫।
2201	\$089	ময়ূরভঞ্জ-রাজ্যে প্রাচীনকালের মানব। প্রবাসী, আশ্বিন, ৪০শ ভাগ : ১ম খণ্ড : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৭৪৪-৭৪৯, সচিত্র।
2221	<b>\$</b> 089	উড়িষ্যার কয়েকটি অখ্যাত মন্দির। প্রবাসী, কার্তিক, ৪০শ ভাগ : ২খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৫৭-৬২, সচিত্র।
>>>।	<b>&gt;</b> 089	'যে ধন্না হেতু প্রভবা'। পত্র, পূজা সংখ্যা, আশ্বিন ২৭ । 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদিত।
>>0।	<b>&gt;</b> ७89	বাঙালীর প্রতিষ্ঠান। শনিবারের চিঠি, অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৩শ বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ২২৫-২৩২। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
>>81	\$089	বিজ্ঞান শিক্ষকের অভিজ্ঞতা। শিক্ষা, অগ্রহায়ণ, পৌষ, মাঘ, ফাল্পুন ও চৈত্র। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
>>@	<b>\</b> 089	পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী। কলিকাতা, ডি. এম. লাইব্রেরী। ১৫৯পৃ:।

(সংস্করণ : কলিকাতা, বিদ্যোদয় লাইব্রেরী, ১৩৬৬। ১৭৪পৃ:)

- ১১৬। ১৯৪০ সাধক, পত্র, মে ১১ ( আশুতোষ সংখ্যা )।
- ১১৭। ১৩৪৮ শিল্পীদের কথা। রূপ ও গীতি, আশ্বিন, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা।
- ১১৮। ১৩৪৮ শিক্ষকদের যোগাভ্যাস । শিক্ষা, ফাল্পুন। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' ( ২য় সং : ১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১১৯। ১৩৪৮ সমালোচনা : (1) Freedom of Cultures [লেখক: John Dewey] ও
  (2) End and means [লেখক: Aldous Huxley] ঘরের কথা, ফাল্পুনচৈত্র, ১ম বর্ষ। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২০। ১৩৫১ রোম্যা রল্যা।শনিবারের চিঠি, মাঘ-ফাল্পুন, ১৭শ বর্ষ: ৫ম/৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (২য় সং:১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২১। ১৩৫১ বুড়ু শনিবারের চিঠি, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১৭শ বর্ষ : ৮ম সংখ্যা ।
- ১২২। ১৩৫২ গড়ার কাজ ও তাহা রক্ষা করার কাজ। শনিবারের চিঠি, কার্তিক, ১৮শ বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ৪৫-৫৩। 'গান্ধীজী কি চান' (১৯৪৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২৩। ১৩৫২ গঠনকর্মের মূল উদ্দেশ্য কি? শনিবারের চিঠি, অগ্রহায়ণ, ১৮শ বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ১৩১-১৩৯। 'গান্ধীজী কি চান' (১৯৪৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২৪। ১৩৫২ গান্ধীবাদ সম্বন্ধে আলোচনা। শনিবারের চিঠি, পৌষ, ১৮শ বর্ষ : ৩য় সংখ্যা, ২০৩-২২৪। 'গান্ধীজী কি চান' (১৯৪৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২৫। ...... সত্যাগ্রহের মূলকথা। শনিবারের চিঠি, মাঘ, ১৮শ বর্য: ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ২৭৫-২৮০। 'গান্ধীজী কি চান' (১৯৪৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ১২৬। ১৩৫২ পুরীতে আবিস্কৃত একটি মৃত্তি। প্রবাসী,মাঘ, ৪৫শ ভাগ : ২য় খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ৩২৪-৩২৫। সচিত্র।
- ১২৭। ১৩৫২ সত্যাগ্রহ সাধনা । শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ১৮শ বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৩৫৩-৩৬৪। 'গান্ধীজী কি চান' (১৯৪৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক ছাত্র সংসদ , কলিকাতা কর্তৃক পুস্তকাকারে প্রকাশিত।

7521	<b>১</b> ৩৫২	গান্ধীজী কি চান? শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ১৮শ বর্ষ, ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৪৩৩-৪৩৬।
>>>	<u> </u>	শ্রেণী সংগ্রাম সম্বন্ধে গান্ধীজীর অভিমত। লেখক। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' (১৩৫৪) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। বঙ্গীয় প্রাদেশিক ছাত্র সংসদ, কলিকাতা কর্তৃক পুস্তকাকারে প্রকাশিত।
2001	•••••	অহিংসা অপেক্ষা সত্যের বেশী প্রয়োজন। ভারত, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
7071	<i>১৩</i> ৫৩	দেশের কাজ ও আমাদের শক্তি। মন্দিরা, শারদীয় সংখ্যা। 'হিন্দু সমাজ ও তাহার ইতিহাস' নামক ক্রমশ: প্রকাশ্য প্রবন্ধমালায় পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>५</b> ७२।	\$886	গান্ধীজী কি চান ? কলিকাতা, সাহিত্যিকা, ৮০পৃ:। হিন্দী ভাষায় অনূদিত।
<u> </u>	১৩৫৩	সাম্প্রদায়িক সমস্যার একদিক। দেশ, জ্যৈষ্ঠ। 'নবীন ও প্রাচীন' (১৩৫৬) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
1804	\$889	গান্ধীবাদের সমস্যা। নির্ণয়, অগস্ত ১৫।
१७०८।	১৩৫৩	স্বাধীনতা এবং স্বরাজ। শনিবারের চিঠি, শ্রাবণ, ১৯শ বর্ষ: ১০ম সংখ্যা।
১৩৬।	\$889	তাপস। সংগঠন, শচীন্দ্র সংখ্যা, অক্টোবর।
<b>५</b> ७१।	<b>&gt;</b> ©&8	হিন্দু মুসলমান সমস্যা ও গান্ধীজী। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন, ১৯শ বর্ষ : ১২শ সংখ্যা, ৪০৫-৪১৪।
<b>५७४।</b>	<b>&gt;</b> ७৫8	নোয়াখালি থেকে পাকিস্থান। দীপায়ণ, আশ্বিন-কার্তিক।
१७०१	\$9068	ঁসতীশচন্দ্র সেনগুপ্ত। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন, ১৯শ বর্ষ : শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
2801	<b>&gt;</b> 068	কলিকাতায় গান্ধীজী। নির্ণয়, ২য় বর্ষ : শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
7871	\$9068	সাংবাদিক গান্ধীজীর আর্দশ । চলন্তিকা, কার্তিক, ১ম বর্ষ: শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
<b>५</b> ८२।	8904	কংগ্রেস কর্মীদের দায়িত্ব। বর্ধমান বার্তা, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
<b>১</b> 8७।	8304	সত্যাগ্রহের অনশনের স্থান। ভারত, পূজা সংখ্যা।

\$881	\$889	গান্ধীবাণী : স্বরাজের সংগঠন । স্বাধীন গভর্ণমেন্ট ও সংগঠন। অর্থনৈতিক ব্যবস্থা । সংগঠন, ১ম বর্ষ : গান্ধী সংখ্যা।
\$8¢1	<b>&gt;</b> ७৫8	বাঙালী ও গান্ধী। শনিবারের চিঠি, কার্ত্তিক, ২০শ বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ১৯-২৩ ।
<b>১</b> 8७।	\$9048	গান্ধীজীর গল্প। গল্পভারতী, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
\$891	<b>\$</b> 0¢8	প্রসঙ্গ কথা : প্রাদেশিক সাম্প্রদায়িকতা ও গান্ধীজী। শনিবারের চিঠি, অগ্রহায়ণ, ২০শ বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ৮১-৮৯।
\$871	<b>\$</b> 0&8	স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ। কলিকাতা, ইন্ডিয়ান এসোসিয়েটেড পাবলিশিং কোং। ২১৫পৃঃ।
\$8\$	<b>\$</b> 0@8	কর পন্থা। শনিবারের চিঠি, মাঘ, ২০শ বর্ষ: ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ১৯৯-৩০৩। (নোয়াখালী বিষয়ে প্রদত্ত বক্তৃতার রিপোর্ট-অন্যের রচিত)
>601	\$904	গান্ধীজীর মৃত্যু। সপ্তর্যি, মাঘ।
>&>	<b>&gt;</b> 0@8	মহাত্মাজীর কথা। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, ফাল্পুন ২৩। ফব্রুয়ারী ২৮, ১৯৪৮ তারিখে ড: বঙ্কিম মুখার্জীর গৃহে সান্ধ্য সভায় প্রদত্ত ভাষণের শঁটহ্যান্ড অনুলিপি।
<b>১</b> ৫२।	<b>&gt;</b> 068	মহাত্মাজী ও তাঁহার চরকা । দেশ, ফাল্পুন ১, ১৫শ বর্ষ : ১৫শ সংখ্যা, ৫৩-৫৪।
<b>३</b> ৫७।	\$008	একখানি চিঠি। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ২০শ বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৪৬৫- ৪৬৭।
\$68	<b>&gt;</b> ७৫8	হিন্দু সমাজ ও তাহার ইতিহাস। দেশ, চৈত্র ১৩৫৪ হইতে আষাঢ় ১৩৫৫, ১৫শ বর্ষ : ২০ সংখ্যা, ১৫শ বর্ষ : ৩৬ শ সংখ্যা।
>৫৫।	<b>&gt;</b> 0@8	হিন্দ-মুসলমান-সমস্যা ও গান্ধীজী (দ্বিতীয় প্রস্তাব)। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ২০শ বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৪৭৯-৪৮৪।
১৫৬।	\$000	বরিশালে এপ্রিল ১১ ও ১২, ১৯৪৭ সালে প্রদত্ত ভাষণের অনুলিপি। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, বৈশাখ ৫।

\$691	১৩৫৫	কটকে বৈশাখ ১, ১৩৫৫ সালে প্রদত্ত ভাষণের অনুলিপি। (ওড়িয়া ) প্রজাতন্ত্র পত্রিকায় এপ্রিল ১৬, ১৯৪৮সালে প্রকাশিত।
<b>५</b> ७४।	3306	গান্ধীজীর অর্থনীতির মূলসূত্র। সংগঠন, ফাল্পুন।
>७७।	\$906	হিংসা ও অহিংসা (দুই খানি পত্র) সংগঠন, চ্রৈ।
<u>\$%01</u>	<b>১</b> ৩৫৫	গান্ধী চরিত : সত্য। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ২০শ বর্ষ: ৭ম সংখ্যা,১-৮, ও জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ২০শ বর্ষ: ৮ম সংখ্যা, ৯৫-১০৩।
<i>১७</i> ১।	<b>\$</b> 0&&	গান্ধী চরিত : অহিংসা । শনিবারের চিঠি, আযাঢ়, ২০শ বর্ষ : ৯ম সংখ্যা ১৯১-২০০।
১৬২।	<b>\$</b> 90¢¢	গান্ধী চরিত : দিন চর্যা। শনিবারের চিঠি, শ্রাবণ ২০শ বর্ষ :১০ম সংখ্যা, ৩১৯-৩২৯; ভাদ্র, ২০শ বর্ষ : ১১শ সংখ্যা, ৩৮৫-৩৯৪; আশ্বিন, ২০শ বর্ষ : ১২শ সংখ্যা, ৪৮১-৪৮৮; কার্তিক, ২১শ বর্ষ : ১ম সংখ্যা, ১-৯, ও অগ্রহায়ণ, ২১শ বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ৯৭—১০৫।
১৬৩।	\$9@@	প্রসঙ্গ কথা : স্বাধীনতার এক বৎসর পরে। শনিবারের চিঠি, শ্রাবণ, ২০শ বর্ষ: ১০ম সংখ্যা, ৩৬৩-৩৭৬।
<b>5</b> %81	১৩৫৫	শচীন্দ্রনাথ। সংগঠন, প্রাবণ।
<b>১</b> ৬৫।	\$9@¢	সংবাদ- সাহিত্য। শনিবারের চিঠি, ভাদ্র, ২০শ বর্য: ১১শ সংখ্যা। (অনামা প্রকাশন)
১৬৬।	<b>&gt;</b> ७৫৫	শ্রাদ্ধবাসরে (শচীন্দ্রনাথের স্মৃতি সভায় প্রদত্ত ভাষণের অনুলিপি- নির্মলকুমার বসুর নিজের রচনা) সংগঠন, ভাদ্র।
১७१।	১৩৫৫	শিল্পকলা সম্বন্ধে গান্ধীজীর মতামত। মাসিক বসুমতী, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
১৬৮।	১৩৫৫	গান্ধীজীর সঙ্গে থাকার বিপত্তি। সচিত্র ভারত, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
১৬৯।	<b>১৩৫৫</b>	মহাজনো গত : স পস্থা। সচিত্র ভারত, বড়দিন সংখ্যা (ডিসেম্বর ২৫, ১৯৪৮)।
\$901	১৩৫৫	গান্ধী চরিত : ব্রহ্মচর্য। শনিবারের চিঠি, পৌষ, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৩য় সংখ্যা, ১৯৩-২০৫।

2921	33 <i>©¢</i>	দক্ষিন আফ্রিকায় গান্ধীজী। বেতার জগৎ, ২২ : ২। কলিকাতা বেতার কেন্দ্র হইতে প্রদত্ত কথিকা।
<b>১</b> १२।	<b>390</b> ¢¢	বীরপূজা। সংগঠন, পৌষ।
\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	39 <i>©¢</i>	গান্ধী চরিত : অ-সঙ্গ। শনিবারের চিঠি, মাঘ, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা, ২৮৯-২৯৭।
\$981	\$\$@¢¢	গান্ধী চরিত : সেনাপতি গান্ধী । শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৫ম সংখ্যা, ২৮৫-৪০৫।
<b>५</b> १७।	<b>&gt;&gt;0</b> ¢¢	গান্ধী চরিত : মহাত্মা গান্ধী। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা, ৪৮১-৪৯২।
১৭৬।	১৩৫৬	গান্ধী চরিত। কলিকাতা রঞ্জন পাবলিশিং হাউস, ২০৩পৃ:।
2991	১৩৫৬	মহাত্মা গান্ধী। সচ্চিত্র ভারত, বৈশাখ ১।
১৭৮।	১৩৫৬	সমালোচনা ( 'Food shortage and agriculture', by Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, 1949).
<b>५१</b> २।	১৩৫৬	গান্ধীজী ও পণ্ডিত নেহেরু। সচ্চিত্র ভারত, আষাঢ় ২৫, ১৪শ বর্ষ : ১২শ সংখ্যা।
5601	\$888	গান্ধীজীর গুরুদেব রবীন্দ্রনাথ। সচ্চিত্র ভারত, মে ২৮।
7271	১৩৫৬	স্মোক নুইসেল। সচ্চি ভারত, শ্রাবণ ৩০, ১৪শ বর্ষ : ১৭শ সংখ্যা।
<b>\$</b> \$\\ \\$\	১৩৫৬	গভর্ণমেন্ট ও গান্ধীবাদ। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৭ম সংখ্যা, ১-১৪।
<b>१०</b> ०१	১৩৫৬	'কীপ টু দি লেফট'। সচিত্র ভারত, শারদীয় সংখ্যা, আশ্বিন ৫, ১৩৫৬।
7281	১৩৫৬	কংগ্রেস ও গান্ধীবাদ। শনিবারের চিঠি, ২১শ বর্ষ: ৮ম সংখ্যা, ৯৭- ১১২।
>>@	১৩৫৬	সংবাদ সাহিত্যে বিশ্বশান্তি ( সম্মেলন সম্পর্কে বিবৃতি ) শনিবারের চিঠি, পৌষ, পৃ: ২৯৫-২৯৯।

১৮৬।	\$886	কংগ্রেসের আদর্শ প্রতিষ্ঠা। কলিকাতা, শনিরঞ্জন প্রেস। ৫৪পৃ:, ১৮ সে.মি.।
>591	\$886	আদিবাসীদের সমস্যা ও (তাহার) প্রতিকার। লোকসেবক, মে ২৯। মে ১৫, ১৯৪৯ তারিখে কংগ্রেসে সাহিত্য সংঘে প্রদত্ত ভাষণের অনুলিপি। শ্রীনিরঞ্জন সেন কর্তৃক লিখিত ও শ্রীনির্মলকুমার বসু কর্তৃক সংশোধিত।
>pp	১৩৫৬	হিন্দু সমাজের গড়ন। কলিকাতা, বিশ্বভারতী। ১৫৬পৃ:, ১৯সে. মি.। (লোক শিক্ষা গ্রন্থমালা)
7491	১৩৫৬	জনসাধারণ এবং গান্ধীবাদ : সাধারণ মানব চরিত্র ও কমিউনিজমের বিপ্লব পস্থা। শনিবারের চিঠি, আযাঢ়, ২১শ বর্ষ : ৯ম সংখ্যা, ১৯৩- ২১০।
7901	<b>५७</b> ७९	নেহেরু- লিয়াকৎ চুক্তি। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ, যুগান্তর জুন ১৮, ১৯৫০ সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
7971	১৩৫৭	সমস্যা। সংগঠন, শ্রাবণ, ৪র্থ বর্ষ : ১৫শ সংখ্যা।
<b>१</b> ७४।	>>%0	কাজের ভীড়। সচ্তি ভারত, এপ্রিল ১৪।
<b>१७०।</b>	>>60	ভদ্রতা। সচিত্র ভারত, অগষ্ট ২২।
7981	১৩৫৭	বাঙালীর ইতিহাস (নীহাররঞ্জন রায় প্রণীত ) গ্রন্থ সম্পর্কে আলোচনা। পূর্বাশা, ভাদ্র।
1364	১৩৫৭	প্রাদেশিকতা। মাসিক বসুমতী, শারদীয় সংখ্যা। দৈনিক বসুমতী, আশ্বিন ৩০, ১৩৫৭সংখ্যায় পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<i>५७७</i> ।	<b>५७</b> ७९	জাতীয় ঐক্য। শনিবারের চিঠি, আশ্বিন, ২১শ বর্ষ: ১২শ সংখ্যা।
1866	১৩৫৭	অস্পৃশ্যতার সমস্যা। প্রবাসী, কার্তিক ৫০শ ভাগ: ২য় খন্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা, ২৩-২৪।
१७४।	১৩৫৭	সমাজ বিজ্ঞানের দায়িত্ব। যুগান্তর, কার্তিক ৬।
1666	<b>\$</b> 0@9	জাতিভেদের উচ্ছেদ। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ২৩শ বর্য: ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৫০৩-৫০৫।

२००।	>2%	হঠযোগ। সচিত্র ভারত, ( নভেম্বর ৪, ১৯৫০)
२०১।	১৩৫৭	গান্ধীজীর সামাজিক একটি আদর্শ। সংগঠন, অগ্রহায়ণ, ৪র্থ-৫ম সংখ্যা।
२०२।	১৯৫১	শুভেচ্ছা। মহানন্দা, জানুয়ারী ২৬।
२०७।	১৯৫১	গল্প। সচিত্র ভারত, জানুয়ারী ২৭।
२०8।	\%\chi \%\chi \	'ভূমিকা' ('কংগ্রেস ও কাজের স্বরূপ' পুস্তিকার ভূমিকা। কলিকাতা, পশ্চিম বঙ্গ প্রদেশ কংগ্রেস কমিটি)।
२०৫।	১৩৫৮	গান্ধীজী কি চান গ্রন্থের এক অধ্যায় ( নতুন করে লেখা)। শনিবারের চিঠি, আযাঢ়।
२०७।	<b>५७</b> ७८	শ্রদ্ধাঞ্জলি (ঁনিবারণ চন্দ্র দাসগুপ্তের স্মরণে)। মুক্তি, (পুরুলিয়া), আষাঢ় ৬।
२०१।	১৩৫৮	মধ্যবিত্ত জীবনে পারিবারিক সমস্যা। মাসিক বসুমতী, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
२०४।	५७७४	গান্ধী চরিত্রের একটি দিক। মঞ্জুরী, ১ম বর্ষ: ১ম সংখ্যা।
२०৯।	<b>४७</b> ८४	জেলের চিঠি ( শ্রীপান্নালাল দাসগুপ্ত কর্তৃক লিখিত একই সংখ্যায় ( পৃ: ২৪৪-২৪৮) প্রকাশিত চিঠির উত্তর । শনিবারের চিঠি, পোষ, ২৫শ বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা, ২৪৮-২৫২।
<i>५</i> ५०।	১৩৫৯	জেলের চিঠি। শনিবারের চিঠি, ফাল্পুন, ২৫শ বর্ষ: ৫ম সংখ্যা, ৪৭৩- ৪৭৪।
5221	8966	গান্ধীজী ও তাহার চরখা। বিশ্বভারতী পত্রিকা, ৪র্থ বর্ষ: ৩য় সংখ্যা। 'স্বরাজ ও গান্ধীবাদ' গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত ।
२১२।	<b>&gt;</b> 568	ভগবান বুদ্ধের শিক্ষা। জগজ্যোতি, ৪র্থ - ৫ম সংখ্যা।
२ऽ७।	১৩৬০	পরিব্রাজকের ডায়েরী : 'গল্প বল' । শনিবারের চিঠি, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ২৫শ বর্ষ : ৮ম সংখ্যা।
२১८।	\$\$68	স্বাধীনতার ইতিহাস লেখা। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, অগস্ট ১৫।
२১৫।	১৩৬০	গান্ধীজীর মতবাদ। সমকালীন, আশ্বিন।

२ऽ७।	১৩৬০	ক্ষয়রোগের কথা। প্রবাসী, চৈত্র।
२১१।	১৩৬২	ভূদান যজ্ঞের গতি। শারদীয়া গণবার্তা।
२५४।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	কালের দাবী। বসুধারা, বৈশাখ, ১ম বর্ষ: ১ম সংখ্যা।
२५०।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	বিজ্ঞানের সাধনা। বসুধারা, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ১ম বর্ষ : ২য় সংখ্যা।
<b>२२</b> ०।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	কবি ও সমাজ। বসুধারা, আষাঢ়, ১ম বর্ষ: ৩য় সংখ্যা।
२२১।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	সামাজিক ঐক্যের চেতনা। বসুধারা, শ্রাবণ, ১ম বর্ষ: ৪র্থ সংখ্যা।
<b>२</b> २२।	<b>&gt;</b> ७७8	কলিকাতায় সমাজ বৈষম্য। বসুধারা, ভাদ্র, ১ম বর্ষ: ৫ম সংখ্যা।
<b>২২</b> ७।	<b>&gt;</b> ७७8	আমেরিকার চিঠি ( ১ হইতে ৬)। সাধারণী, কার্তিক হইতে চৈত্র, ৯ম বর্ষ: ৭ম সংখ্যা হইতে ১২শ সংখ্যা।
<b>२</b> २8।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	ঐক্যের সাধনা। বসুধারা, আশ্বিন, ১ম বর্ষ : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা।
<b>२२</b> ৫।	<b>&gt;७७</b> 8	আর্থিক সংগঠনের মূলসূত্র। বসুধারা, কার্তিক, ১ম বর্ষ : ২য় খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা।
२२७।	১৩৬৫	আমেরিকার চিঠি। বসুধারা, আশ্বিন, ২য় বর্ষ : ১ম খণ্ড : ৬ষ্ঠ সংখ্যা।
<b>२२</b> १।	১৯৫৮	নীতিসম্মত বিদ্রোহ। বিপ্লবী বাঙ্গালী, অক্টোবর ২, ৩য় বর্ষ : ৪১শ সংখ্যা।
२२४।	১৩৬৫	গান্ধী ও বিপিনচন্দ্র। জয়শ্রী, কার্তিক, ২৩শ বর্ষ :৭ম সংখ্যা।
२२৯।	7964	গান্ধীজী কি চান ? কলিকাতা, সর্বোদয় প্রকাশন সমিতি। ৮৬পৃ: ১৮সে. মি.।
२७०।	১৩৬৫	আচার্য জগদীশ চন্দ্রের ভারত দর্শন। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, নভেম্বর ৩০।
२७১।	১৩৬৫	নেতাজী স্মরণে। জয়শ্রী, মাঘ, নেতাজী সংখ্যা।
२७२।	১৩৬৬	কেশবচন্দ্র ও ভারতের জাতীয় জাগরণ। শনিবারের চিঠি, বৈশাখ।
২৩৩	তা.না.	মুখবন্ধ (মনোরঞ্জন গঙ্গোপাধ্যায় প্রণীত ' স্থাপত্য শিল্পের ভূমিকা'র মুখবন্ধ। কলিকাতা)।

২৩8।	তা.না.	বিদ্যাসাগর। Centenary Souvenir, 1859-1959, Calcutta, Vidyasagar College.
२७৫।	১৯৬০	জাতিভেদ প্রথার বিষয়ে গবেষণা। জ্ঞান ও বিজ্ঞান, রাজশেখর সংখ্যা।
২৩৬।	<i>\$%</i> 00	মানববিদ্যা (নৃতত্ত্ব বা নরতত্ত্ব)। ভারত কোষ ( নমুনা সংখ্যা)। কলিকাতা, বঙ্গীয় সাহিত্য পরিষৎ।
২৩৭।	তা.না.	রবীন্দ্রনাথের বিদ্যানুরাগ। নৃতন পত্রিকা।
२७४।	১৯৬১	সুভাষ চন্দ্র বসুর একখানি পত্র। যুগান্তর শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
২৩৯।	29P7	চব্বিশ পরগণা। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১০ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>২</b> 80।	১৯৬১	জলপাইগুড়ি। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১০ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>२</b> 85।	` \$&\\	দাজিলিং। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১১শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
<b>২</b> 8२।	১৯৬১	দিনাজপুর । দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১২শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৪৩।	১৯৬১	আশ্রম সংবাদ। নবজীবন: হুগলী জেলা বার্ষিকী, অগষ্ট১৪।
২৪৪।	১৩৬৮	সুভাষচন্দ্রের একখানি অপ্রকাশিত পত্র। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, মাঘ ১০।
<b>२</b> 8৫।	<b>&gt;</b> 8%<	নদীয়া। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১৩শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' ( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
२८७।	১৯৬২	আচার্য প্রফুল্ল চন্দ্র (১৮৬১-১৯৪৪)। জন্ম শতবর্ষপূর্ত্তি স্মারক গ্রন্থের অন্তর্গত (পৃ:৭১-৭৩)। কলিকাতা।
২৪৭।	১৯৬২	বর্ধমান। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১৫শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত ।
२८४।	১৯৬২	বাঁকুড়া। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১৬শ সংখ্যা । 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা '

### (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

- ২৪৯। ১৯৬২ মুর্শিদাবাদ (ক)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১৭শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত। '
- ২৫০। ১৯৬২ মুর্শিদাবাদ (খ)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ১৮শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫১। ১৯৬২ মেদিনীপুর (ক)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড: ১৯শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫২। ১৯৬২ মেদিনীপুর (খ)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ২০শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' ( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৩। ১৯৬২ মেদিনীপুর (গ)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ২১শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৪। ১৯৬২ মেদিনীপুর (ঘ)। দর্শক, ২য় খণ্ড : ২২শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৫। ১৯৬২ হুগলী। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' ( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৬। ১৯৬২ বীরভূম। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ২য় সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৭। ১৩৬৮ রবীন্দ্রনাথের বিজ্ঞানের প্রতি অনুরাগ। শনিবারের চিঠি, চৈত্র।
- ২৫৮। ১৯৬২ খুলনা। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ৪র্থ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা'( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৫৯। ১৯৬২ চট্টগ্রাম ও পার্বত্য চট্টগ্রাম। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ৫ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৬০। ১৯৬২ ঢাকা। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ৭ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
- ২৬১। ১৯৬২ নোয়াখালী (১) দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ৯ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।

<u> २७२।</u>	১৯৬২	নোয়াখালী (২) দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১০ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা'
		(১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৩।	১৯৬২	ফরিদপুর। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১২শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮)
		গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৪।	১৯৬৩	ফরিদপুর (২) দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১৩শ সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা'
		(১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৫।	১৯৬৩	বগুড়া। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১৫শ সংখ্যা ও ৩য় খণ্ড : ১৬শ সংখ্যা।
		'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' ( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৬।	১৯৬৩	বক্তব্য। শুভ নববর্ষ (কটক)।
২৬৭।	১৯৬৩	পাবনা। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ১৮শ সংখ্যা ও ৩য় খণ্ড : ১৯শ সংখ্যা ।
		'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৮।	১৯৬৩	বাখরগঞ্জ। দর্শক, ৩য় খণ্ড : ২০শ সংখ্যা ও ৩য় খণ্ড : ২১শ সংখ্যা।
		'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
২৬৯।	১৯৬৩	ময়মনসিংহ। দর্শক ৪থ' খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা ও ৪র্থ খণ্ড : ২য় সংখ্যা।
		'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' ( ১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
२१०।	১৯৬৩	যশোহর। দর্শক ৪র্থ খণ্ড : ৫ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮)
		গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
२१५।	১৯৬৩	স্বামী বিবেকানন্দ ও সমাজ সংস্কার। স্বামী বিবেকানন্দ স্মারক গ্রন্থ।
		কলিকাতা, শ্রীরামকৃষ্ণ বেদান্ত মঠ (মে, ১৯৬৩)।
<b>२</b> १२।	८७१७	কলিকাতার সমাজ জীবন। শারদীয় যুগান্তর।
২৭৩।	১৯৬৩	রাজশাহী। দর্শক, ৪র্থ খণ্ড : ৮ম সংখ্যা। 'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮)
		গ্রন্থে পুনর্মন্তিত ।
२१8।	১ ৯৬৩	রংপুর। দর্শক, ৪র্থ খণ্ড : ৯ম সংখ্যা ও ৪র্থ খণ্ড : ১০ সংখ্যা।
		'বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা' (১৩৭৮) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
२१৫।	2090	ভারতের জাতীয় সংহতি। শপথ, মাঘ ৫।
২৭৬।	১৯৬৪	গণতন্ত্রের সংকট। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, মে ১২, ১৯৬৪।

२११।	১৯৬৪	জাতীয় সংহতির সমস্যা। কম্পাস, মে ১২। এপ্রিল ২১, ১৯৬৪ তারিখে
		বঙ্গ সংস্কৃতি সম্মেলনে প্রদত্ত ভাষণ অবলম্বনে রচিত।
२१४।	५७१५	একখানি চিঠি। প্রান্তজ্যোতি, আষাঢ় ২২।
২৭৯।	১৯৬৪	প্রস্তাবিত বিপ্লব। কালান্তর, (কলিকাতা), মে ২৩। 'গণতন্ত্রের সংকট' (১৯৬৭) গ্রন্থে পুনর্মুদ্রিত।
२४०।	১৯৬৫	অধ্যাপক হলডেন। জ্ঞান ও বিজ্ঞান, জানুয়ারী সংখ্যা।
२४)।	১৯৬৫	সভাপতির ভাষণ : উনবিংশ বঙ্গীয় গ্রন্থাগার সম্মেলন, মে ৩০-৩১, শ্যামপুর, হাওড়া । গ্রন্থাগার, জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১৩৭১।
२४२।	১৯৬৫	ভাষণ ( আজাদ পূর্ব বাংলা বেতার কেন্দ্র ইইতে প্রচারিত গান্ধী-সুরাবর্দী বিষয়ে প্রদত্ত ভাষণ)।
२४७।	১৯৬৫	যেমন দেখেছি : গান্ধীজী। শারদীয় যুগান্তর, ১৩৭২।
२४८।	১৯৬৫	কলিকাতা । দেশ, শারদীয় সংখ্যা, ১৩৭২।
२४७।	১৯৬৫	গান্ধীজীর শেষ নির্দেশ। সবিতা, আশ্বিন, শারদীয়া ও গান্ধী জয়ন্তী সংখ্যা।
२४७।	১৯৬৫	খাদ্য বন্টনে সমস্যা। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা মার্চ ২৯।
२४१।	১৯৬৬	বাঙ্গালায় বিজ্ঞান। দেশ, এপ্রিল ৯।
२४४।	১৯৬৬	আদিবাসী সমস্যা। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, এপ্রিল১০।
२४२।	১৯৬৬	বঙ্গসাহিত্য সম্মেলনে শিল্প ও সংস্কৃতি শাখার সভাপতির অভিভাষণ।
२७०।	১৩৭২	নির্মলকুমার বসু লিখিত অপ্রকাশিত প্রবন্ধ 'The Spirit of Indian
		architecture' এর বঙ্গানুবাদ ( প্রদান্ন ভট্টাচার্য কর্তৃক অনূদিত ) সাহিত্য পত্র, পৌষ- ফাল্পুন।
२৯১।	১৩৭৩	'চাষের পাঁজি' গ্রন্থের 'ভূমিকা'। (দেবেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্র : চাষের পাঁজি, কলিকাতা, মেরিট পাবলিশার্স, ১৩৭৩)।
२৯२।	४०१४	ঝাড়খণ্ড প্রসঙ্গে। সবিতা, জ্যৈষ্ঠ, ২য় বর্ষ ১০ম সংখ্যা।
२৯७।	১৩৭৩	রবীন্দ্রনাথ ও বিজ্ঞান। যুগান্তর, শারদীয় সংখ্যা।
२৯८।	১৯৬৬	গণতন্ত্র ও ভারতীয় সমাজ। জ্ঞান ও বিজ্ঞান, অক্টোবর।
२৯৫।	১৯৬৬	ভগিনী নির্বেদিতা বিষয়ে প্রদত্ত ভাষণের রিপোর্ট। আনন্দবাজার পত্রিকা, অক্টোবর ২৯।

२৯७।	১৯৬৬	( সংকলয়িতা ) গান্ধী রচনা সংকলন। ব্যারাকপুর।
२৯१।	১৯৬৭	( রতনমণি চট্টোপাধ্যায় ও আরো কয়েকজনের সংগে যুগ্ম প্রকাশন) গান্ধী মানস । কলিকাতা।
२৯৮।	১৯৬৭	সভাপতির মন্তব্য। মানব মন, জানুয়ারী , ৬ৡ বর্ষ: ১ম সংখ্যা।
২৯৯।	১৯৬৭	গণতন্ত্রের সংকট । কলিকাতা, মেরিট পাবলিশার্স। ৮০পৃ:।
७००।	১৯৬৮	সমালোচনা (' বাঙালীর ইতিহাস' গ্রন্থের সমালোচনা ) 'ক্রান্তি, জানুয়ারী- মার্চ, ১ম খণ্ড : ১ম সংখ্যা।
७०১।	১৩৭৫	ভারতবর্ষ (দেবনাগর সার্বজনীন দুর্গা পূজা সমিতি, দিল্লীতে প্রদত্ত ভাষণের মর্ম; শ্রীনির্মল কুমার বসুর লেখা নহে। সাইক্লোন্টাইলড)।
७०२।	くからん	গান্ধীজীর বিকেন্দ্রিত অর্থ ব্যবস্থার মর্ম। সমাজ প্রবোধন পত্রিকা, (মারাঠী ভাষায় ), জানুয়ারী, ১৯৬৯ সংখ্যা। মূল পাভুলিপি ইইতে মারাঠী ভাষায় অনুদিত।
७०७।	১৯৬৯	নোয়াখালিতে গান্ধীজী। উদ্ধোধন, ৭১তম বর্ষ: ৯ম সংখ্যা।
७०८।	১৯৬৯	এশিয়ার সাম্প্রতিক ঘটনাবলীর পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে গান্ধীজী। ক্রান্তি, অক্টোবর- ডিসেম্বর, ২য় বর্ষ : বিশেষ সংখ্যা।
७०७।	১७१४	ভাঙা ও গড়া । দেশ, বৈশাখ ২৫।
७०७।	১৩৭৮	মধ্যযুগে গণ আন্দোলন। তত্ত্ব কৌমুদী, জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১ ও জ্যৈষ্ঠ ১৬।
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७०५।	১৩৭৮	বিয়াল্লিশের বাংলা। কলিকাতা, সারস্বত লাইব্রেরী। নানা পত্রাংক, ম্যাপ,২২সে.মি.।
७১०।	১৯৭২	ভারতীয় সমাজ ও শাস্ত্র। অতুল চন্দ্র সেন রচিত 'উপনিষৎ নবক' (কলিকাতা, রণব্রত সেন, অতুলচন্দ্র স্মারক সমিতি, অক্টোবর ১৯৭২) গ্রন্থের অর্ন্তগত, পৃ:২৫-৩২।

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